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## **The debentures market and military purchases of crown land, 1649-1660.**

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**THE DEBENTURES MARKET AND MILITARY PURCHASES OF CROWN LAND, 1649-1660**

**Ian James Gentles**

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**Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of London**

**1969**



### Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the arrears of pay incurred by the parliamentary army between 1642 and 1648, and parliament's attempt to satisfy these arrears by the sale of the crown lands in 1649. It is argued that the failure to raise sufficient sums of money through the monthly assessment and other forms of taxation was a principal cause of the conflict between army and parliament in 1647 and 1648. Indeed, the army revolt and the consequent radicalization of the English Revolution might have been averted as late as July 1647 by a timely settlement of this grievance.

The act for sale of crown lands (16 July 1649) was one of the first fruits of the army's political mastery of England, and represented the first effective measure to eliminate arrears. The act stipulated that debentures issued to soldiers who had been in the army since January 1648 would be honoured at their face value for purchases of crown land. The effect of this stipulation was to promote a brisk trade in military debentures. Soldiers sold their debentures to prospective purchasers of crown land and other confiscated properties for prices ranging between 1s. 6d. and 12s. in the pound. Enormous numbers of forged debentures were also produced, and several people in high places were later implicated in this fraudulent activity.

The crown lands realised almost £1½ million. About 75% were bought by soldiers and the rest by civilians. The number of military purchasers was 449 and virtually all of them were officers. Of the civilian purchasers almost none belonged to important noble, gentry or merchant families. The military purchasers of crown land are commonly thought to have sought the quickest possible cash return on their investment by ruthlessly exploiting their estates. This is shown to be only partly true.

In 1660 all holders of crown estates were theoretically dispossessed. However, an exception was made of those who had aided the restoration. On the whole they were allowed to remain in possession of their estates as royal tenants, paying only nominal rents. Monck himself received several of the choicest crown estates in an outright grant. Most of the remaining lands were let at low rents to faithful cavaliers. Thus it was Charles II's need to pay off his multifarious political debts rather than any difficulty in recovering the crown lands that accounts for the shrunken revenue from them after 1660.



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Mr. H.E. Evans, superintendant of the Rolls Room at the Public Record Office informed me of the many sources for enrolments of transfers of crown land. Mr. J.P. Ferris of Southampton University gave me the reference for Colonel William Siddenham's bargain with his men for Carisbrooke Park. (HM, Add. 29319/127). Professor F.J. Fisher of the London School of Economics read and criticised drafts of Chapters IV, V and VI, and helped me to sharpen my ideas. Professor H.J. Habakkuk of Jesus College, Oxford gave generously of his time in conversations and letters, and helped me to avoid several pitfalls by making me aware of the subtleties of land transference in the 17th century. I wish especially to thank my supervisor, Dr. Ian Roy of King's College, who helped me to find this thesis topic in the first place, and has given me invaluable assistance from beginning to end.

Some of the other people who have helped are acknowledged at appropriate places in the thesis. Any errors in the thesis are of course my own responsibility.

A brevations

<u>A and O</u>	C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds., <u>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660</u> (3 vols., 1911)
Add,	BM, Additional Manuscripts
BM	British Museum
C	PRO, Chancery
<u>CJ</u>	<u>Journals of the House of Commons</u>
CP	PRO, Court of Common Pleas
<u>CSPD</u>	<u>Calendar of the State Papers, Domestic</u>
<u>CTB</u>	<u>Calendar of the Treasury Books</u>
Crest	PRO, Crown Estate Office
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
Dd8/30	Cambridge University Library, Contracts for Crown Lands, Commonwealth
Dd13/20	Cambridge University Library, Conveyances of Crown Lands, Commonwealth
E	PRO, Exchequer
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<u>LJ</u>	<u>Journals of the House of Lords</u>
LR	PRO, Land Revenue
PRO	Public Record Office
<u>Reg. Hist.</u>	C.H. Firth and G. Davies, <u>The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army</u> (2 vols., Oxford, 1940)
SP	PRO, State Papers
<u>VCH</u>	<u>Victoria History of the Counties of England</u>

A Note on quotations

In quotations I have tried to reproduce the original spelling and capitalisation. Punctuation has been altered occasionally to improve the sense and abbreviations have been extended. Years have been altered from old style to new style.

### Introduction

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of great unsettlement in the land market. The sales of monastic land in the 1530's and 1540's were followed by an extended period of monetary inflation which greatly stimulated the buying and selling of land. In the next century it was the civil wars which brought on another great upheaval. In order to meet current expenses and reduce some of its enormous debts, the long parliament found itself compelled to sell the various lands that it had confiscated during the 1640's. Many royalists were also forced to sell their estates in order to meet the heavy fines that were imposed on them for opposing the parliamentary cause.

It has become a commonplace that the activity of the land market is an invaluable index to social change as well as an illuminating background to political events, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The motive of the long parliament in selling first the bishops' lands (1646), then the deans' and chapters' lands (1649), the crown lands (1649), the crown free farm rents (1650), and the confiscated royalist lands (1651), was purely economic, but sales of such magnitude could not but have social and political ramifications as well.

#### Sales of confiscated land during the interregnum<sup>1</sup>

<u>type of land</u>	<u>value</u>
bishops' land	£ 676,387
dean and chapter land	1,170,000
crown land	1,434,249
crown free farm rents	816,834
delinquent land	1,224,916
<b>Total</b>	<b>£ 5,322,386</b>

A study of the sales of forfeited estates should contribute to our knowledge of mid-seventeenth century English society, as well as provide valuable insights about the social basis of parliamentary support. Yet

remarkably little work has been done in this area. W.A. Shaw's A History of the English Church, 1640-1660 (1900) discusses the sales of church land more in terms of their effect on the church than in terms of who the purchasers were. G. J. Tatham's article, "The Sale of Episcopal Land during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth"<sup>2</sup> traces and totals all the sales from the close rolls, but offers little information about the purchasers. H.E. Chesney provided a preliminary survey of the purchasers of royalist lands in private transactions, but did not really prove his thesis that those who bought land, thrived under the commonwealth, and triumphed at the restoration were "new men".<sup>3</sup> S.J. Madge, in his Domesday of Crown Lands (1938) wrote the indispensable prolegomena to a study of the sales and resales of crown land during the interregnum. His book gives the student a painstakingly thorough description of the background and administration of the act for sale of crown land, and also provides an invaluable guide to the manuscript sources for these sales. However, the book tells us little about the purchasers of crown lands and what they did with the lands during the 1650's.

1 In this table, the term "value" represents all the cash, public faith bills and debentures that were submitted for the purchase of confiscated estates. The figure for crown lands is derived from the account of the surviving treasurer, Sir John Dethick, in the Pipe Office Declared Accounts (1662), PRO E351/603/87. The other figures are derived from H.J. Habakkuk, "Public Finance and the Sale of Confiscated Property during the Interregnum", Economic History Review, series 2, vol. xv (1962-3), p.87. Professor Habakkuk's figures are those of the original treasurers. The figures quoted by W.A. Shaw (A History of the English Church, 1640-1660 (2 vols., 1900) vol. ii, 515; Cambridge Modern History iv, 457) and S.J. Madge (The Domesday of Crown Lands (1938), pp. 256, 26), are in most cases quite unreliable.

2 EHR xxxiii (1908)

3 "The Transference of Lands in England, 1640-1660", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, xv (1932), p.210

About the purchasers of delinquent land we know much more, thanks to the pioneering work of Dr Joan Thirsk in her thesis "The Sales of Delinquents' Estates during the Interregnum, and the Land Settlement at the Restoration."<sup>1</sup> Taking twelve south eastern counties as her sample, Dr Thirsk identified those who purchased delinquent land from the treason trustees, and traced their resales through the close rolls, the feet of fines and other sources. Her study of the resales enabled her to challenge the conclusions advanced by those who had studied only the initial purchases. Thus, whereas Professor Arkhangelaky had asserted that it had been mainly London capitalists who benefited from the sales of delinquent land, Dr Thirsk, by taking resales into account, demonstrated that in the south east it was locally based gentry (including many of the royalists themselves) who benefited most. Her thesis presents an excellent model for other studies of confiscated land sales. Yet since her work was published there has been nothing written on the subject with the exception of H.J. Habakkuk's recent article on three regimental purchases of crown land.<sup>2</sup>

The present thesis studies the sales and resales of crown land with a view to discovering who the real purchasers were, what they did with the land they acquired, and what happened at the restoration. The shape of the thesis is different from Dr Thirsk's because some of the issues and questions raised by the sale of crown land are quite different from those raised by the sale of delinquent land. Whereas the delinquents' lands were sold partly to reduce the public faith debt and to raise cash, the crown lands were sold solely to pay the army's arrears. Parliament

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- 1 University of London, unpublished PhD thesis (1950). Most of the conclusions in this thesis are summed up in Dr Thirsk's articles, "The Sales of Royalist Land During the Interregnum", Economic History Review, 2nd Series vol.V (1952-3); and "The Restoration Land Settlement", Journal of Modern History xxvi (1954)
  - 2 "The Parliamentary Army and the Crown Lands", 16th Century History Review, vol. 3, no. 4 (December 1967)

had been in debt to its soldiers almost from the moment that it had embarked upon an armed struggle with the king. Even the revamping of army finances which occurred when the new model was formed in 1645 was not successful in halting the spiralling accumulation of arrears. The failure of the county committees to raise the monthly assessment upon which the new model depended was fraught with political significance. So was parliament's attempt in the spring of 1647 to disband half the army without their arrears and to send the other half to Ireland to fight the rebellion there. Faced thus with the prospect of virtual extinction, the army mutinied. Order could have been restored as late as July 1647 by a timely payment of arrears, but parliament proved unable or unwilling to do so. Consequently, the deadlock over army pay and disbandment led inexorably to the purging of parliament and the political revolution that was consummated in the king's trial and execution. Not till after these momentous things were accomplished were the army's arrears given serious attention.

When the crown lands were put on sale in July 1649 it was stated explicitly that the purpose of selling them was to pay off the army. The soldiers had accumulated their arrears in the form of debentures which were rather similar to public faith bills, except that they did not bear 8% interest. These debentures, after being audited and reissued, were to be secured on the crown lands, and were also to be honoured towards the purchase of any of those lands. Both debentures and public faith bills were eligible towards the purchase of other forms of forfeited property, but it was necessary to double on them before they became valid.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, debentures did not have to be doubled on in order to obtain

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1 Doubling was parliament's ingenious method of paying off debts and raising money at the same time. A public faith bill or debenture could only be used to purchase church or delinquent land if an amount equal to the bill or debenture was advanced with it. In other words, only half the purchase price of these types of land could be covered with bills or debentures.



crown land, and only debentures could be used for crown land. Equally, civilians were permitted to use bought or "assigned" debentures to buy crown land, although they suffered certain disadvantages vis à vis military purchasers. The market in debentures inevitably received a sharp stimulus from the act for sale of crown lands. The many factors influencing the price of debentures are examined in Chapter III. The forging of debentures posed a grave problem during the 1650's, and in chapter III consideration is given to the extent of forgery, who the people were who traded in forged bills, and how the existence of forgery affected the debentures market.

Chapters IV and V consider the purchases of crown land by civilians and soldiers. An effort has been made to encompass all the sales and most of the resales that took place between 1649 and 1660. There were a number of reasons for choosing to do a general comprehensive study in preference to a more concentrated but partial one. First, unlike the delinquent lands, the crown lands were "all of a piece". They belonged to one person, the king, and came under one central administration. Secondly, county or regional boundaries were less important than they were in the case of delinquent lands because the crown lands were being used to pay off the army, and the military purchasers were not overly concerned about where their lands were located. One way of doing a partial study of the crown lands might have been to take a sample of the 35 regimental or garrison purchases and examine what the regiments and garrisons did with their properties. Only about a third of the crown lands were bought in this way, however, with the other two thirds going to civilians and soldiers, who acted as individuals or in small groups. Furthermore, many regiments appear to have handled their purchases in a highly individual manner. It is impossible to generalise safely about regimental purchases until one has studied all of them. There is the added problem that historians have long disagreed about the true nature of the regimental purchases. are

they in fact what they appeared to be: collective transactions which enabled several hundred men to participate in the corporate ownership of a great estate, with each man drawing an income from it according to the size of his debentures? Or were they simply a device whereby officers circumvented the vexatious restrictions on their right to purchase their men's debentures? Who in other words were the real beneficiaries of the regimental purchases? This question is considered in Chapter V.

A complete study of the crown lands was possible not only because they seem to have been a good deal smaller in value and extent than the delinquent lands, but also because the records of the initial sales are much more accessible. The records of the treason trustees have been lost, making it necessary to resort to the Calendar of the Committee for Compounding and the close rolls to find the names of the people to whom the trustees sold. By contrast the survival of the particulars of sale, the certificates of sale, and a list of the conveyances of crown land enables one to draw up a virtually complete list of the initial purchasers without having to resort to the unwieldy and time-consuming close rolls. Appended to this thesis is an index of all the purchasers of crown land that have been discovered. The index does not pretend to be the last word on who got the crown lands. It includes all purchasers who bought directly from the crown trustees and about whom information could be gleaned from the sources just mentioned. It also contains information about those who bought from the military purchasers. But no attempt has been made to trace resales by civilians, whose initial purchases were less than a fifth of the total and were mainly for small amounts. Also, because of the disabilities which they suffered vis à vis military purchasers it is quite unlikely that many civilians acted as agents for others. Information about resales by military purchasers has been found in the close rolls, the feet of fines, the coram rege rolls of King's Bench, chancery proceedings, and the surveyor general's book of constats (1660-1661). Although the study of these sources has been a full one

(with the exception of chancery proceedings), the picture is almost certainly incomplete. For one thing, one can never be sure that the person named in a conveyance is the real purchaser and not a trustee. Sometimes it is possible to tell when a conveyance is a trust, and sometimes the name of the real purchaser can also be discovered. But this is not always the case. For example, had it not been for a dispute between Viscount William Monson and Dalton Shafto and Richard Nonnelly, that happened to find its way into chancery proceedings, we should not have known that Monson was the real purchaser of Grafton and Potters Pury Park, Northamptonshire, and that John Goodwin and William LeHunt were merely his trustees.<sup>1</sup> It is equally possible that a soldier who appeared to be selling away his land was in fact only entrusting it to the apparent purchaser. This seems to have been what Colonel Charles Fleetwood was doing when he conveyed his vast holdings of delinquent and crown land in Suffolk, Norfolk and Oxfordshire to Peter Ball and Nathaniel Stirrup in 1652, the year that he left for Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

A second reason why our knowledge of resales must remain incomplete is that there are some transactions that are not recorded anywhere. To be sure, the law required the enrolment of all sales of land, but it is well known that many people ignored this requirement. The records of the restoration contain several instances which demonstrate that sales of crown land had gone unrecorded. They tell us for example that Major Thomas Lilburne ended up as the sole possessor of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland, although there appears to have been no enrolment of his purchase of the manor from the officers who first bought it.<sup>3</sup>

Besides attempting to find out who were the purchasers of crown land this thesis also attempts to consider the broad social and political

1 Chancery Proceedings, PRO C5/19/88

2 Feet of Fines, PRO, CP2 2)/616, divers counties, Trinity 1652

3 Surveyor General's Book of Constats (1660-61), PRO, Crest 6/1/11,232

repercussions of the sales of crown lands. In radical circles during the 1650's it was said that the army grantees had so stuffed themselves with parks and manors that they had forgotten their friends and become tyrants of the people.<sup>1</sup> On the opposite side, Clement Walker and the author of The Mystery of the Good Old Cause castigated the grantees for their "sordid and dishonourable" exploitation of the soldiers in buying up their arrears for next to nothing.<sup>2</sup> A modern historian has suggested that the officers' practice of buying up their men's debentures at a fraction of their face value served to destroy the esprit that had made the new model so terrible in battle. The men's hostility towards their officers partly accounts for their passivity in 1659-60, and consequently for the bloodiness of the restoration.<sup>3</sup> The grantees were also accused by royalists of having been rack-renting landlords and reckless exploiters of the crown estates. The validity of this charge is considered in Chapter VI. Chapter VII deals with the restoration and examines how the order dispossessing the purchasers of crown land was actually put into effect. Attention is drawn to the financial and political exigencies which determined Charles II's policy towards the crown lands. The traditional view that the sharp decline in the crown's landed revenue was largely due to concealments by erstwhile purchasers is contested.

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1 P. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men (1966), p. 71

2 The Complete History of Independency (1661), part ii, 207, 249; The Mystery of the Good Old Cause (1660) B.M., E1923/2

3 C.H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (1962), p. 205

## CHAPTER 1

The Crisis over Arrears, 1647-1649

Constant pay: it was one of the chief attractions of the army that was new modelled in the spring of 1645 out of the three older armies of Manchester, Essex and allier. During the previous 2½ years the financing of the parliamentary forces had been hastily improvised from one month to the next. In the beginning the houses had tried to fight what they thought would be a limited war simply by raising loans. When these proved insufficient there was resort to the income from sequestrated estates. Soon after that the deputy lieutenants were commanded to raise money from their counties. Later it became necessary to bolster the deputy lieutenants' authority by creating county committees, who were charged with levying a weekly assessment to support the war effort. In addition there was the introduction of the excise, a new tax that was expected to provide security for the larger and larger loans that parliament was asking from the country.<sup>1</sup> But the money raised from all these sources was never enough to meet military expenses. The problem was only compounded by the fact that the money was spread inequitably among the various forces. "All my best men", said Edward Massey, governor of Gloucester, "run away for lack of clothing, and other requisites, and take service in other parts and associations where they may have a better and surer entertainment."<sup>2</sup>

It was intended in 1645 to remedy this defect and to make enlistment more attractive by ensuring that the soldiers would be punctually paid. It was certainly not any generosity in the rates of pay that attracted recruits. At eightpence a day, as Gardiner points out, the private soldier was receiving no more than Elizabeth's soldiers had got,<sup>3</sup> and the cost of

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1 A and O 1, 47, 109, 146, 223, 272, 376, 399, 468, 484

2 quoted in C.H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (1962), p. 24

3 S.R. Gardiner, The Great Civil War (1933) 11, 195

living has risen a preciously in the past 50 years. A dragoon received one and sixpence and a cavalry trooper 2 shillings a day. The officers by comparison were handsomely paid, with a colonel of horse receiving a total of 30 shillings a day and the inferior officers proportionat ly less. In November 1647 the lord general was voted £10 a day and the lieutenant general £3. For the higher officers however it was only a paper generosity, because those receiving above 10 shillings had half the amount deducted or "respited upon the Publick Faith", for which they received debentures. Officers who were paid between 5 and 10 shillings a day had one third of it respited, while the cavalry trooper saw a quarter of his pay deducted in forced savings.<sup>1</sup>

One of the novel aspects of the establishment of 1645 was its centralization of the field army's finances in London. 18 county committees were directed to raise £60,000 a month and send it to the treasurers at war in the Guildhall for the maintenance of Fairfax's army. The figure £60,000 was settled upon after the commi tee of both kingdoms had estimated that the pay of the 21,000 soldiers would come to £44,952.13.0 a month.<sup>2</sup> Things got off to a promising start in February 1645 when the City advanced a loan of £80,000, which was secured, with 8% interest, on the future receipts of the assessment.<sup>3</sup> While it is thus likely that soldiers under the new model were paid more faithfully than they had ever been before, there were difficulties

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1 The figures on the pay scale are those voted by the house of lords to begin on 3 November 1647. (LJ x, 66-71) It was the only comprehensive list printed. At times there were variations from this scale - on one or two occasions the pay of the infantry rose to nine or tenpence for example - but on the whole the rates of pay for the parliamentary army remained constant between 1645 and 1660. The figures for the amounts respited upon the public faith are taken from John Rushworth, Historical Collections, vi (1722), p.12

2 CSPD 1644-5, 232

3 LJ vii, 293

with the monthly assessment almost from the beginning. As early as October 1645 parliament found it necessary to order a forced loan of £40,000, secured on the excise, for the support of Fairfax's army. A few months later it was admitted that the great part of the monthly assessment "is yet behinde", and accordingly another loan of £200,000 was ordered.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the first civil war the new model was many weeks in arrears. From 28 March 1645 the committee of the army had received £1,118,551.19.2 for the pay of this army. Of that sum £758,359.15.1 had come from the county committees and the rest from the excise, the bishops' lands and the special loans voted by parliament. The counties had met roughly three quarters of their quota, being £310,360.16.2 short. The horse and dragoons were owed £252,750 or 43 weeks pay, and the foot and artillery were owed £78,250 or 18 weeks. The total was £331,000, "besides what is due to Colonel Rosseter's Regiment; and what is respited to the whole Army upon Publick Faith."<sup>2</sup> This last phrase is very important since it indicates that respited pay was not included in the calculation of arrears. What was the proportion of the respited pay to the total pay of the army? Using the establishment that was voted to come into effect on 3 November 1647 it can be estimated that respited pay was roughly a fifth of the total pay of the new model army. The total sum that the army had received by 1 March 1647 plus their arrears (i.e.  $£1,118,551.19.2 + £331,000 = £1,449,551.19.2$ ) was in reality, then, only about four fifths of the total money to which the new model was entitled. By this reasoning the respited pay comes to about £362,388 - a sum in excess of the arrears. At the same time there was the rest of the parliamentary army - the garrisoned troops, the northern army and the numerous county regiments - the supernumeraries as they were called. Their numbers were roughly equivalent to those of the new model, and it would be unrealistic to suppose

1 A and Q 1, 786, 818-19

2 CJ v, 16

that they were more faithfully paid than the new model, which had benefited from the powerful and vigilant care of parliament. It would be a conservative estimate that put the supernumeraries' arrears and respited pay as equal to that of the new model. But this sum only represents what was due since the spring of 1645. The soldiers themselves asserted that their pre-new model arrears were "to the most of us...much greater then those under the New-Model,"<sup>1</sup> and there is no reason to doubt the truth of this assertion. The length of service under the pre-new model forces had been for most men considerably longer than under the new model, and the numbers of the previous armies combined had been much greater.<sup>2</sup> The financing of this establishment, as we have seen, had been haphazard in the extreme. Therefore it would be safe to calculate their back pay as equivalent to that of the parliamentary army between 1645 and early 1647. By this conservative procedure one arrives at a figure in the neighbourhood of £2½ million as the back pay owing to all the land forces of parliament between 1642 and 1647. After the end of 1646, as we shall see, the pay of the soldiery fell even more quickly into arrears until the execution of the king, after which event parliament dealt with the problem seriously for the first time.

Some officers, it is true, had made individual petitions to parliament for their arrears and some had been successful. Other more senior officers had been paid their arrears without having to petition for them. To name but a few, Colonel Edward Whalley was granted the earl of Newcastle's lands in Nottinghamshire; Oliver Cromwell got the Marquis of Worcester's estates; Thomas Fairfax was voted a cash grant of £10,000; and Henry Ireton was voted land worth £2,000 a year, although he turned it down. Impressive

1 A Solemne Engagement of the Army under... in Thomas Fairfax (8 June 1647), p. 13, B.M., E392/9

2 Firth, Cromwell's Army, 24



though these sums are, when put together they do not make much of a dent in the total back pay of £2½ million. Moreover, parliament became less and less sympathetic to individual petitions for arrears and finally directed that no officer should receive preferential treatment.<sup>1</sup>

On 18 February 1647 the house of commons resolved that 5400 horse and a thousand dragoons "shall be the Number of Horse and Dragoons that shall be kept at the Pay of the Kingdom for the Service of the Kingdom of England." The next day, by the narrow margin of 158 to 148 they took the momentous decision that no more infantry were to be kept at the pay of the kingdom "than what shall be sufficient for the keeping of such Garisons as shall be continued." The new model infantry was to be disbanded. On 8 March the house went a step farther, declaring "that no Officer that shall command under Sir Thomas Fairfax, those Forces that shall be kept in the Kingdom of England, shall be above a Colonel." The generals of the new model were to be fired. In a move more transparently directed against Cromwell and Ireton they further declared "that no Member of this House shall have the command of any of the Garisons, or of any of the Forces that are now to be kept up." Moreover, "such Persons as shall be employed as Officers in the Garisons or Forces that shall be kept up in the Kingdom of England, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, shall conform to the Government of the Church established by both Houses of Parliament."<sup>2</sup>

The lords were not outdone by the commons in offending the army. On 4 March they voted not to continue the monthly assessment on which the army depended. Two days later, on the lords' instructions, Manchester wrote to

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1 CJ v, 454; DNB sub Oliver Cromwell; LJ x, 164; Edmund Ludlow, Memoirs (C.H.Firth, ed., Oxford, 1894), vol. 1, 285-6; CJ v, 524

2 CJ v, 90, 91, 107-8

Fairfax forbidding him to quarter his army in any of the counties of the eastern association. Fairfax sent back delaying letters but the lords remained adamant, explaining that as London was the place where the parliament and all the courts of justice were kept, it would be a very grave matter if the City were deprived of their usual provisions and necessary accommodations by having the army quartered in any of the adjacent counties.<sup>1</sup>

A partial explanation for the indifference of both houses can be found in the state of public opinion after four wearisome years of war. The excise and monthly assessment had proven a heavy burden, and popular resentment of a large military establishment was heightened by the resort to free quarter. Free quarter was the system that had followed upon the failure of taxation to raise even the minimum amounts needed to enable the soldiers to pay for their food and lodgings. Under the system soldiers were lodged with private householders who provided food and shelter at a fixed rate. The individual soldier who had received the free quarter would give the householder in return a chit endorsed by his regimental officer. There are hundreds of these chits in the commonwealth exchequer papers, of which the following is a typical example.

I, John Rutlidge, souldier under the command of Captain Thomas Hamond, Captain of a troupe of horse, doe certifie that Daniell Dancer of esalde did quarter Martin Walters and Robert Wyatt with their horses two weeks at 7s. a weeke a peece [which] comes to twentie and eight shillings, and Edward Searle fower weekes at 4s.8d. a weeke xviii. and viiid and for 28 pecks of oates at 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. a peck being a peck a day a peece, xs.viid. [which] comes to in the whole £11 xviii. iid., itness my hand the 3rd day of January 1645. I am persuaded this noate is true as above writen, Thomas Hamond. the marke of the said John Rudlidge. <sup>2</sup>

The landlord Daniell Dancer would take the chit to the committee for

1 LJ 1x, 57, 66-7, 70, 71, 72, 88, 89-90

2 SP28/237

taking the accounts of Middlesex for payment. However, the prospect of payment cannot have been any more certain than it was with other forms of public faith loans. After the bill had been received by the county committee they would note that so much was to be deducted from the arrears of Martin Walters, Robert Wyatt and Edward Searle. If the soldiers were in the field army it would be the committee of the army at Westminster who would be informed in order to make the appropriate deductions.

While the householder was paid a fixed rate for every soldier, with additions for feeding horses, etc., the soldiers themselves were docked on a sliding scale that varied according to their rank and place in the army. Troopers and non-commissioned officers of horse were "defalked" 12d. a day, dragooners 9d. a day and infantrymen 4d. a day. These sums represented half their pay. Soldiers of the train of artillery and artificers, together with their attendants, were defalked similar amounts. On the other hand, commissioned officers in the foot and train, and gentlemen of the lifeguard lost a fourth of their pay if they found it necessary to resort to free quarter. Commissioned officers in the horse and dragoons lost a third. The same schedule of defalcations was applied to the supernumerary forces.<sup>1</sup>

The system of free quarter was distasteful to the soldiers, who were only too aware of the hostility that it aroused among the civilian population. They were often unhappy too at the way they were fed, feeling that they could get better value if they had the money to buy what they wanted.<sup>2</sup> The system was also detested by the civilian population. It was understandable that those areas that were subjected to free quarter should become reluctant to pay twice by contributing to the monthly assessment. But failure to collect

1 A and Q 1, 1049-50, 1051-2

2 e.g. The humble Petition of the Sentinels in the regiment formerly belonging to Major General Go fe (10 June 1659), B.M., 669f.21/47

the assessment meant an increased reliance upon free quarter, and so a vicious circle developed, and popular impatience increased.

In light of the situation in the country the lords' vote not to renew the monthly assessment was comprehensible but it was short sighted and impractical. Wiser counsel soon prevailed however, and when on 16 March the commons affirmed that the £60,000 monthly assessment would again be raised for the army the lords silently gave way.<sup>1</sup>

It is important to remember that for 3 months (25 December 1646 to 25 March 1647) the army had been practically without financial support. Not only had the assessment lapsed, there had also been no income from the excise.<sup>2</sup> During these months however the soldiers had not been inactive. When a deputation from the committee for Irish affairs went to Saffron Walden on 21 March to meet with Fairfax's officers, they were startled to be told that there would be no volunteers for Ireland until four questions were answered: 1) What regiments were to be kept up in England?; 2) Who was to be the commander of the army in Ireland?; 3) How were the soldiers who went to Ireland to be paid, fed and clothed?; 4) What was going to be done "in Point of Arrears and Indemnity, for the past Service in England?"<sup>3</sup> The fact that the deputation was able to sign up 29 volunteers from among the officers before parliament answered these questions did not lessen the officers' determination to receive at least a rudimentary satisfaction before embarking on the Irish adventure.

Nor had the rank and file been passive. As the officers reported in their Declaration of the Armie of 16 May 1647,<sup>4</sup> during the month of

1 CJ v, 114

2 The Account of the receipts of the Treasurers at war (28 March 1645 to 25 December 1651), PRO, E351/302/1-2

3 LJ ix, 113

4 EM E390/26, p.4

March "there had been many draughts of Petitions carried about in the Army which did extend to things of divers natures, and some beyond the proper concernments of Souldiers." In an attempt to keep matters under control the officers had taken the most moderate petition, removed the offensive passages and given it their support,

the rather, because (there being ill-affected spirits in all places, ready to stir up discontents in the Army against the Parliament) we doubted, that if we did not thus give some vent to their just grievances and desires, in those things which generally concern the Souldiery, such spirits might... have a great advantage to ingage the Souldiers, by those things, in an implication of other matters...

Sir William aller saw things in a different light, arguing that it was the officers who gave the lead in sedition by inciting their men.

That evening [21 March 1647] we had information given us from very good hands, that there was a petition of dangerous consequence, pretended to com from the souldiers, but framed and minted by som of the principal officers, which that afternoon had been tendered to the Convention (in the Generall's own house, where he quartered) to be approved, and made passable and currant by their stamp...

It seems likely that the officers' version of events is nearer the truth, if we bear in mind that during the coming months it was al ays the rank and file who led the way in militant action, with the officers struggling to keep up and so maintain their hold on the leadership of the army.

Parliament took fright as soon as they heard of the petitionary activity of the soldiers and peremptorily ordered Fairfax to suppress the paper that was being circula ted. When they heard a few days later that the petition was still being circulated, they reacted wildly, declaring that the petition was "tending to put the Army into a Distemper and

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1 The Vindication of the char c er and conduct of Sir illiam aller, knight (1793), pp. 50-1

Mutiny, to put Conditions upon the Parliament, and obstruct the Relief of Ireland...and that all those who shall continue in their distempered Condition, and go on in advancing and promoting that Petition, shall be looked upon, and proceeded against, as Enemies to the State, and Disturbers of the Public Peace."<sup>1</sup>

What were the conditions that the Army was tending to put upon parliament? The Petition of Colonels (27 March 1647) put forward both material and political demands.

1. That the publique worship of God may speedily be settled, according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed-Churches.
2. That the Subject may have the benefit of Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right...
3. That all Committees in the severall Counties may be removed, and that they, the Treasurers and Sequestrators of the said Counties may be called to a speedy and strict account, for the better satisfaction and ease of the Kingdome.
4. That the Arreares of such Officers as have served under any generall Command may have their accounts speedily audited in London, and that a speciall order may be issued to the severall Committees of Accounts residing in other Counties, forthwith to audit the accounts of such Officers, as have been subservient to the Orders of the Committees of the said Counties.
5. That such pay as shall be due unto the said Officers under the hands of the Committees of Accounts...may be forthwith paid unto them with interest, and the Ordinance upon the Bishops Lands, with the Security of the Excise may be revived for the discharge thereof; that for such part as is respited upon the publique faith, it may be discharged with interest, at the end of six moneths deducting the surcharges of the severall Countie, and that an order may be issued to the said severall Counties to bring in their surcharge within the time of three moneths, or otherwise they shall not be charged on our Accounts...
6. That all such Officers and Souldiers as have contracted any Debt since this warre began...may have their Persons free from all Processes, Arrests, or Molestations, until their Arreares shall be discharged...

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1 CJ v, 127; LJ ix, 115

7. That an Act of Indemnitie may be passed for all Officers and Souldiers, for such actions as have bin done by them in reference to the publique Service since the beginning of this Warre.

8. That all such Officers as have lost the benefit of their Estates, and have disbursed divers summes of Money for the raising of Men, Horses, Armes, or Ammunition, or in the management of their publique trusts, shall be considered for their said losses and allowed for their said disbursements...

9. That not forgetting your onours tender care of the sad condition of bleeding Ireland, and that nothing may be wanting on our parts towards the promoting of so honourable and pious a work, some of us have ingaged our selves already and the rest are most willing to contribute their best assistance<sup>1</sup> thereunto when as your Honours shall be pleased to command us.

During the next two years the political demands of the soldiers changed frequently in response to the fast-moving events of those years, but their material grievances remained constant: satisfaction of arrears, an act of indemnity for actions committed during the war, and compensation for maimed soldiers as well as widows and orphans of those killed in battle. After parliament's "Declaration of Dislike" of 30 March the army added a fourth grievance which they constantly reiterated: the right of all Englishmen including soldiers to petition.

Given parliament's difficult financial position, the problem of disbanding an unpaid army would have taxed the ingenuity of politicians with the best will in the world. But what enraged the soldiers was what they considered to be the indifference bordering on contempt continually shown to their plight. The financing of the Irish expedition was clearly a higher priority for parliament than the payment of the army they wished to disband. On 30 March the commons resolved to borrow £200,000 immediately from the City "for the service of England and Ireland". When the bill passed the lords on 23 April the loan was earmarked solely for Ireland, with no mention of the English forces.<sup>2</sup> Now model soldiers also came quickly to suspect that there was a design afoot to favour the

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1 B.M., E382/4

2 CJ v, 130; LJ ix, 150

Presbyterian elements in the army and to crush the Independents. Already there had been the votes at the beginning of March; then on the 29th the commons decided by a narrow majority of 89 to 77 that the regiments of three Presbyterians - Poyntz, Bethell and Copley - should be part of the 5400 horse to be kept up in England. After that came the decision to appoint Philip Skippon as field marshall in command of the Irish army, with Edward Massey (one of the eleven Presbyterian MPs whose expulsion the army was later to insist upon) as lieutenant general. By passing over the soldiers' favourites, Fairfax and Cromwell, parliament made the Irish service seem more unattractive than ever. Some time around the beginning of April parliament embarked upon the still graver course of attempting to weaken and reduce the new model to impotence, while building up a rival Presbyterian army based on the London militia. There was an active campaign to induce desertion from the new model and enlistment for Ireland by providing back pay for deserters and a month's pay in advance for enlisters. Moreover, the Irish volunteers were to have their respited pay in rebels' lands instead of public faith bills. By 25 April it was estimated that 2,350 out of an army of 21,480 were prepared to enlist for Ireland. Waller himself attests to the fact that there was a definite design to divide the army and render it harmless by disbanding only the foot. "...it was conceived, that if the horse were acquiesced, the foot singly would neither have will nor power, to do anything considerable to the disturbance of the peace." In this strategy however there was a fatal miscalculation of the degree of solidarity felt by the cavalry for their conscripted brothers in the foot.<sup>1</sup>

This solidarity became unassailable when, by deciding to purge the 18,000 strong London militia of Independents, and by continuing to make overtures to the Scots, parliament aroused the spectre of a Presbyterian

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1 CJ v, 128, 133; Rushworth, Coll. ctions vi, 458, 454; Waller Vindication, 67



alliance against the new model.<sup>1</sup> Eight of the most politically conscious horse regiments - Fairfax's, Cromwell's, Ireton's, Fleetwood's, Whalley's, Rich's, Sheffield's and Butler's - banded together, elected agitators and sent a joint letter to Fairfax, Cromwell and Skippon. All the suspicions and resentments of the army were bluntly articulated for the first time. In parliament, they declared, they had discovered a far more dangerous enemy than they had ever confronted on the battlefield, for

...like Foxes [they] lurk in their Dens, and cannot be dealt withal though discovered, being protected by those who are entrusted with the Government of the Kingdom...When shall we see Justice dispensed without Partiality? or when shall the Weal of the Public be singly sought after the endeavoured? Can the Irish Expedition be any Thing else but a Design to ruin and break this Army in Pieces?...[Regarding Ireland] we must of Necessity, contrary to our Desires shew ourselves averse to that Service until our Desires be granted, the just Rights and Liberties of the Subjects vindicated and maintained...<sup>2</sup>

The upshot of this activity was that three of the agitators - Edward exby, William Allen and Thomas Sheppard - were called before the bar of the house of commons to explain their conduct. It was evidently realised that little would be achieved by punishing these men, so the house decided instead to send Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon and Fleetwood to the army with the promise of "a considerable Sum of Money" before disbandment, debentures for the rest that was due to them, and an act of indemnity.<sup>3</sup> Six weeks' arrears had been voted for the army on 27 April; on 21 May this was raised to eight weeks. The six weeks' advance pay for the soldiers enlisting for Ireland was also raised to eight weeks.<sup>4</sup> Parliament however continued to pursue a contradictory and zig zag course. On 18 May it abruptly decided by a vote of 149 to 100 to ask the committee

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1 LJ ix, 143

2 ib. 164

3 CJ v, 158; Rushworth, Collections vi, 475

4 CJ v, 155, 173-4

for Irish affairs at Derby House "to consider of the Time and Manner of disbanding all such Forces as shall not go for Ireland, or be employed in England." To some it must have sounded like the death sentence of the new model. The votes passed three days later cannot have given much reassurance. There was to be "a real and visible Security" for arrears; the length of time devoted to military service was to be deductable from a man's apprenticeship; no one who had served in the army voluntarily was to be "pressed to serve beyond the Seas"; and compensation was to be provided for maimed soldiers and the widows and orphans of those who had been killed.<sup>1</sup> Honourable these intentions may have been, but the soldiers had already taken alarm, and the army was rife with the wildest rumours. It was said, for example, that parliament was planning to pay arrears to the men but withhold them from the officers. The agitators wrote to their regiments on 19 May urging solidarity with the officers and steadfast resistance to the attempts of parliament to divide them one from another.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that parliament was unconvinced that the rumblings within the army were to be taken seriously, for on 25 and 27 May disbandment was ordered to proceed immediately, beginning with Fairfax's own foot regiment and following with the regiments of Colonels Hewson, Lambert, Harley, Lilburne, Sir Hardress Waller, Hammond and Ingoldsby. £40,000 was appointed for the service of disbanding.<sup>3</sup> On the 28th the lords and commons set forth the justification for their action in a joint Declaration which merits extended quotation.

The Lords and Commons, finding it of absolute Necessity in relation to their Duty as to this Kingdom, to take off the great Charge which it hath so long undergone in Maintenance

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1 ib., 176, 181

2 C.H. Firth, ed., The Clarke Papers (Camden Society, 1891), vol. 1, 84; 87-8

3 CJ v, 183; LJ ix, 207-8

of Armies; as likewise to that of Ireland, which cries out for present relief, and must otherwise irrecoverably perish; have therefore thought fit to disband the Foot of this Army: But withal have taken it into their special Care to give all just Satisfaction to those who have served them, in providing for their Indemnity; and for the Maintenance of such as have lost their Limbs; as likewise for the Idows and Orphans of those who have lost their Lives in their Service; and an Assurance unto those who have voluntarily served them, not to be pressed out of the Kingdom; and also such a considerable Part of their Arrears to be paid to those that are to be disbanded, as is possible to be provided for the present, with regard to other publick Charges of unavoidable Necessity; and good and sufficient Security for all that shall hereafter to be due, both to Officer and Soldier, upon the Auditing of their Accounts; which is to put into a way of speedy dispatch, and of no Trouble at all to the Soldier, and but of little to the Officer: All which doth appear by the several Ordinances and Orders of both Houses, passed to that Effect: Which will, we presume, abundantly satisfy all Persons of the Parliament's Tenderness towards the Army, and Acceptance of their faithful Service; and dispose the Army to a ready and cheerful Compliance to their Resolutions, that Ireland may be relieved, and this Kingdom recover a Breathing-time, after so long and heavy Sufferances...<sup>1</sup>

The army responded by drawing closer together and preparing a general rendezvous. The officers justified this action as the minimum concession to the fiery spirits in the army who were advocating wholesale mutiny. The danger of mutiny was, they said, particularly acute in those regiments that had been deserted by their officers. A rendezvous was necessary to control the leaderless regiments, to head off the fiery spirits who would otherwise hold an illegal rendezvous, and to poll the soldiers' opinion of the plans that parliament had announced. On 2 June Cornet Joyce set out for Holdenby with his commission of 500 horses to prevent parliament from seizing the king by doing it first.

When it was realized at Westminster what a truly serious turn events had taken there was at last a serious attempt to deal properly with the soldiers' demands. On the 5th it was resolved that all common soldiers

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1 CJ v, 192

and non-commissioned officers should have their full arrears and that the commissioned officers should have another month in addition to what had been previously offered. The lords, while concurring with this resolution, declined at first to join the commons in repealing the Declaration of Dislike of 30 March. Their reluctant agreement did not come until 8 June.<sup>1</sup> The actions of certain Presbyterians gave some justification for doubting the sincerity of these measures. On 6 June Colonel Massey rode through the streets of London urging the citizens to defend themselves against the madmen of the army. At the same time active preparations were underway for a Scottish invasion of England.<sup>2</sup>

At the army's rendezvous on 4 and 5 June near Newmarket the officers demonstrated that they still had effective influence with their men. They persuaded them to entrust all authority to a council consisting of the general officers and two officers and two men (the agitators) from each regiment. By securing the agitators' participation in a council where they were comfortably outnumbered, the officers effectively brought them under their control. The moderating influence of the officers was also manifest in the solemn Engagement of the Army (8 June 1647).<sup>3</sup> In it they declared themselves unsatisfied with parliament's votes for gradual disbandment and payment of arrears. Their first complaint was that no provision had been made for arrears accumulated before 1645 "which to most of us are much greater than those under the New Model." Secondly, they said, 5 shillings a week was too much to deduct for free quarter. Food and lodgings could have been obtained at a cheaper rate had they had the money in their own pockets to begin with; on the other hand, quarter had often been paid for out of their own pockets "partly out of desire not to be burthensome at all

1 LJ ix, 241, 242, 247-8

2 Gardiner, The Great Civil War iii, 278

3 B.M., E392/9

to th Country as farre as they could, and partly upon expectation (grounded on the many promises and often renewed, of constant pay f r time to come) that money would come in time to pay them up and r imburse them their full pay without defalcation for quarters..." The security for arrears was inadequate: revenue from the excise had already been earmarked for other purposes to the sum of £1 million; besides which there was no certainty that the tax would continue after disbandment. The revenue from the sale of delinquents' lands was similarly uncertain because no one knew yet how much of a claim the delinquents' creditors would have. Finally, despite its promises, parliament had passed no ordinance designating these two sources as security for arrears. In this situation the army feared disbandment above all else. As one offic r put it, "...if they be thus scornfully dealt withall for their faithfull services whilst the Sword is in their hands, what shall their usage be when they are dissolved?"<sup>1</sup>

Other grievances in the Solemne Engagement concerned 1) pressing: the ordinance exempting them would not be passed before they were disbanded, nor would it protect volunteers in the horse from being pressed into the foot; 2) apprenticeship: the ordinance permitting time spent in military service to be deducted from apprenticeship would not have been passed before disbandment; 3) maimed soldiers: compensation due to them and to the widows and orphans of the slain had still not been secured; 4) indemnity: the ordinance was not comprehensive enough.

The army was putting conditions upon parliament in a most forthright manner, but it is noteworthy that the points at issue were purely "bread-and-butter" ones and that as yet no attempt was being made to dictate a religious or political settlement for the nation. Indeed the soldiers disclaimed any intention to set up a "particular Party or Interest in the Kingdom". As late as 13 June in their Letter to Several Counties they were asserting

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1 Clarke Papers i, 101-2

that "Wee meddle not with matters of Religion or Church Government, leaving those to the Parliament. e desire as much as any to mainteyne the authority of Parliament, and the fundamentall government of the Kingdome." Or, as Fairfax wrote to the speaker of the house of lords, there was in the army no "Inclination to oppose the settling of Presbytery, or to have the Independent Government set up, to uphold a Licentiousness in Religion, or to meddle with any such Thing, to the Advancement of any particular Party or Interest whatsoever; but wholly to leave all such particular Matters to the Wisdom of Parliament." On the other hand, in May the army had warned that "The time is coming when God will execute justice and judgment on the earth." Their hearts were hardening, even if they still had no precise notion of how they were going to enforce their will upon the nation.<sup>1</sup>

Parliament's ambiguousness only served to worsen the situation. On 7 June an unqualified ordinance of indemnity for all offences committed by soldiers during the war was enacted, but the following day the commons declined, by the margin of 87 to 77 "to give any further Answer to the Particulars in the Summary from the Army". Instead they contented themselves with voting an additional £10,000 for the private soldiers.<sup>2</sup> By 10 June the army had begun to approach London and were holding a second rendezvous at Triploe Heath. On the 11th a motion was read twice in the commons to allow the City of London to raise its own cavalry. The measure was ostensibly designed to quell the tumults caused by the reformadoes who had been besieging the house for several days. But in combination with the vote to pay £10,000 to "such officers or soldiers as shall come off from the army", the measure took on a more sinister aspect to the army's eyes.

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1 Rushworth vi, 512; Clarke Papers i, 131; LJ ix, 249; The Declaration of the Armie (16 May 1647), B.M., E390/26

2 CJ v, 202

That same day the army leaders sent a letter to the lord mayor warning the City not to resist their approach, but solemnly affirming that

we desire no Alteration of the Civil Government; we desire not to intermeddle with, or in the least to interrupt, the Settling of the Presbyterian Government; nor do we seek to open a way to licentious Liberty under Pretence of obtaining Ease for tender Consciences...<sup>1</sup>

It was the last time that the army was to attempt to preserve the appearance of indifference to the political and religious settlement that was to be framed for the nation.

The Declaration of the Army, published on 14 June, showed that the fiery spirits had again taken the lead. Gone was any pretence of political neutrality, for as they said, being more than "a meer mercenary Army", they had the same right to political opinions as any other body. They wanted to see all delinquent or corrupt Members, and particularly the eleven Presbyterian ringleaders, purged from parliament and barred from holding any office. They wanted a fixed time limit to the sitting of each parliament, but with no return to the king's arbitrary power of dissolution. They wanted recognition of the right of petition, curbs on the powers of committees or deputy lieutenants and provision for the ease of tender consciences. To the usual material grievances were added demands that no more pay be allowed to deserters from the army and that all attempts by parliament to raise new forces should cease forthwith.<sup>2</sup> This last demand did not merely refer to the raising of cavalry in London and the efforts to tempt deserters; parliament had also been forming the volunteers for Ireland, now about 3,000 strong, into a separate force near Worcester.<sup>3</sup> Equally it was feared that parliament was planning to use Poyntz's army in the north against them, for they had recently been sent £10,000 for their back pay.

1 LJ ix, 257

2 Rushworth vi, 564-70

3 Gardiner, The Great Civil War iii, 302

On 27 June the lords and commons again flouted the army by voting a month's pay for reduced officers and soldiers. On the same day however the eleven Presbyterian Members withdrew from the house, with results that were felt almost immediately. On the 28th the commons decreed by a margin of 121 to 85 that no one was to leave the army without the express permission of the lord general. They also accepted without a division the declaration "That they do own this Army as their Army; and will make Provision for their Maintenance; and will take Order, That, so soon as Money can be conveniently raised, they shall be paid up equally with those that have left the Army." These fair words may have been hollow but they had the effect of generating in the army "a general Confidence of the Houses speedy and full Answer to the remaining Propositions" and resulted in the conciliatory gesture from Fairfax of moving the army from Uxbridge to Ickham.<sup>1</sup>

Parliament responded to the gesture by agreeing that the king should not be brought any nearer to London than the army. The army in turn decided to remove their headquarters to Reading. Events were still moving too slowly to suit them however, and on 5 July they promulgated a paper outlining the defects in the recent votes by parliament. Those measures that had been approved had not been implemented. Preparations for a new war were going ahead against the army's wishes, and negotiations with the Scottish army had not been broken off. Pay was still a festering grievance and there had been as yet no improvement in the situation. The ordinance passed on the 9th ordering all soldiers to depart from the lines of communication by 15 July except "such as are lately come from the Army" (i.e. the deserters) did not increase their confidence in parliament's goodwill towards them.<sup>2</sup> The equivocal behaviour of parliament is again reflected in the rapidly changing demands of the army. On the 21st their

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1 CJ v, 219; LJ ix, 301; CJ v, 206; LJ ix, 306

2 LJ ix, 309, 313, 317, 322-3



proposals were:

- 1) that there be an official declaration against the inviting in of foreign forces "under any pretense whatsoever";
- 2) that the army be paid up equally with the deserters;
- 3) that the London militia and the committee in charge of it be returned to the hands of those who formerly controlled it (i.e. the Independents);
- 4) that there be a speedy trial for men like John Lilburne and Richard Overton who had been imprisoned for misdemeanours not relating to the late war;
- 5) that the committee of the army be revived so that the assessments could be collected and arrears paid, "and also that the Treasurers and the Committee of exchequer Hall may be speedily called to Account, what Manner and by what Warrant the Two Hundred and Thirty Thousand Pounds lately intrusted in their Hands have been in so short a Time consumed."<sup>1</sup> The two points in this fifth proposal are startling evidence that the original system of financing the army had all but collapsed. It was to be said, early in 1648, that there had been no collection of the monthly assessment since its reinstitution in March 1647. The consequence of this failure in the flow of money to the army can only have been to throw them into increasing dependence on free quarter in the counties where they were stationed. Popular resentment against the intolerable burden of an unpaid and hungry army must have become sharper with each passing day. Lilburne had warned that dependence on free quarter would speedily "destroy the Army in the poore country peoples affections",<sup>2</sup> and the army were very sensitive to the importance of public opinion. Taking account, then, of parliament's almost total neglect of the army's financial needs after December 1646, it becomes surprising that Pride's Purge did not occur a year

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1 Rushworth vi, 629; LJ ix, 341. In fact the treasurers at war received only £67,382.10.8 from the committee at exchequer Hall. (E351/302/2)

2 The Iyglers Discovered (28 September 1647), p. 12, B.M. E409/22

and a half earlier. As it was, there can be little doubt that the army's broader political and religious programme might easily have been sidetracked as late as the end of July 1647 by a prompt attention to arrears. This option was taken out of parliament's hands on the 26th of that month by the mob of apprentices, reformados and women who attacked the house of commons demanding the repeal of the ordinance that would have put the city militia back in the hands of the Independents. Plans were afoot to place Poyntz or Massey in command of the City forces, said to number 40,000, and to reopen negotiations with the king.<sup>1</sup> Before the 30th the Independents had fled parliament, the eleven Members had been recalled and the Presbyterians were once again firmly in the saddle.

There was now nothing that could prevent a march by the army upon London. The City was occupied on 3 August, the eleven Members were expelled, and the votes passed after the flight of the Independents were repealed. The army leaders successfully resisted pressure from the agitators for a purge of all the Members who had continued sitting after the flight of the Independents.<sup>2</sup>

The story of the tangled events leading up to the second civil war - the attempts to negotiate with the king and the debates over the Agreement of the People - is secondary to this narrative. The importance of army arrears diminishes as army and parliament become enmeshed in high matters of state and the nation's political destiny hangs in the balance. It must be remembered however that the financial crisis was only in abeyance; it was never resolved. The issue lay smouldering, ready to burst into flame as soon as the more momentous debates and battles were concluded. For most officers and men it probably did remain the most

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1 Gardiner, op. cit. 111, 338

2 The humble Address of the Agitators (14 August 1647), B.M., E402/8

important issue in their lives, and one catches occasional glimpses of their thinking which support this view. Again and again we are reminded of the fundamental fact that the army received no true satisfaction until after Pride's Purge and the execution of the king. During the months before these epochal events the army's financial situation continued to grow more desperate, especially during the months leading up to the second civil war.

After the occupation of London the army attempted to take the law into their own hands by issuing a peremptory demand to the City to pay its overdue assessment. They also requested from parliament that delinquents' fines should go towards paying the army. If money was not immediately forthcoming from these sources, the army announced that they were determined to raise it themselves. The citizens of London obstinately refused to open their purses, but after Cromwell threatened tumults and outrages by the soldiers the commons ordered £30,000 for the army in addition to "a Months Gratuity" and a month's pay. It is not known how much of this money was actually paid. Certainly by 7 October the month's pay had still not been received, and this failure prompted the army to add a new demand to an already lengthy list - that arrears and respited pay be satisfied out of the dean and chapter lands.<sup>1</sup>

In their Propositions to the king of 1 November the army requested that arrears be paid out of the revenue of the remaining episcopal land, the forest lands, two thirds of other forfeited lands, and the delinquents' fines "comprehended in the First Three Qualifications of the Sixteenth Proposition lately sent to the King."<sup>2</sup> Even the Case of the Armie Truly stated, the ambitiously radical programme of the new agents, began and ended with a statement of material grievances. There had been, according to these men, still "No securitie for our Arreers, or provision for present

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1 Rushworth, Collections vii (1721), pp. 815, 825, 838

2 LJ ix, 507

pay, to inable the Army to subsist, without burthening the distressed Country."<sup>1</sup> After the suppression of the mutiny at Corkbush Field on 15 November Fairfax wrote to the house of lords reiterating his demand for "... the Easing of this poor Kingdom from Free Quarter, by providing future Pay, that so no Free Quarter may be taken, nor the Soldiers put to Shifts, nor I made unable to uphold the Discipline of the Army; that they may be satisfied in their Arrears, according to former Desires; and the Act of Indemnity made full..." He attached to his letter a petition from the soldiers declaring that "...our Hearts bleed, to see our Country consume [d] under continued Distractions and heavy Oppressions", and pledging to stick together, their swords in their hands, until their freedoms were settled, their arrears secured and a way established for constant pay.<sup>2</sup> The army's Representation of 7 December suggested that the assessment be raised from £60,000 to £100,000 for 5 or 6 months in order to expedite disbandment. To guard against the measure becoming a dead letter even if it were enacted, it proposed that the lord general and the committee of the army be granted the power to appoint new men to any of the county committees that should fail to raise their quota.<sup>3</sup>

The county committees had long been a fearsome obstacle to the smooth functioning of the new model army. Even in the eastern association, whose ironsides were the cream of the new army, there was a longstanding jealousy towards it. Led by Suffolk, all but one of the counties in the association had opposed the formation of the new model, yet parliament had expected them to contribute more than half the monthly assessment for it.<sup>4</sup> Until the second civil war at least, many of the county committees seem to have been

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1 15 October 1647, B.M., E411/9, pp. 1-2

2 LJ ix, 528

3 LJ ix, 559

4 A. Everitt, Suffolk and the Great rebellion 1640-1660, Suffolk Records Society, vol. iii (1960), p. 33. Suffolk and Norfolk, for example, each contributed more than London and Middlesex combined. (Treasurers' arrears, Accounts, Various, PRO, E101/67/11A/112)

dominated by the wealthier gentry, conservative men at heart, whose opinions were much closer to the earl of Manchester's than to the captain of the ironsides'.<sup>1</sup> Once the pressure of war was relieved they came to view the professional national army with a more jaundiced eye, and the wellsprings of their generosity virtually dried up.<sup>2</sup> It was this hostility of the county committees that increased the army's reluctance to disband. In June 1647 they had complained that most of the committees were constituted "at least of Neuters (disaffected to the War, and consequently to the Soldiery) and whose vast and Arbitrary power to vex, delay, fine and imprison at their own pleasure or judgement, any that they can bring within the compass of Accomptants, and to proceed upon their own judgement of the default, to sequester, sell and dispose of his Estate, as upon a Commission of Bankrupt (we confess) we tremble to think of more then of any Enemy."<sup>3</sup>

Parliament avoided the whole issue of how to discipline the counties and ignored the army's request to be allowed to place their own nominees on recalcitrant committees. They decided not to increase the monthly assessment and turned down the general council of the army's request to use the dean and chapter lands as security for arrears. They also decreed that counties which paid their monthly assessment were to be exempted from free quarter; £600,000 was to be charged upon the securities already granted in relation to arrears; supernumeraries were to be disbanded before the new model; and all soldiers who had been added to the establishment since 6 August were to be disbanded without pay. This last measure was enacted with the support of the grandees, who doubtless shared with parliament a

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1 A. Everitt, loc. cit.; D.H. Pennington and I.H. Roots, eds., The Committee at Stafford 1643-1645 (Manchester University Press, 1957); A. Everitt, The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660 (Leicester University Press, 1966)

2 In Kent, for example, the sums collected by the county committee between 1647 and 1649 averaged half what they had in the previous two years. The budget for the new model would naturally be the first to suffer in so drastic a cutback. (Everitt, The Community of Kent, 159)

3 B. ., E392/9, p. 18

desire to rid the army of all the City radicals who had flocked to its colours after the invasion of London.<sup>1</sup>

The army's continuing financial extremity is well illustrated by a pathetic story recorded by Rushworth. At the beginning of December army headquarters attempted to discharge all soldiers who had been taken on since the Engagement at Newmarket. Soldiers in this category were said to number 30 or 40 a company, most of them having served parliament since the beginning of the war, even though they were recent recruits to the new model. However, the army did not have the money to pay these men's travel expenses home; so, with the exception of "Cavaliers or disorderly Persons", they were sent back to their regiments to await the arrival of more money.<sup>2</sup> The longer these men cooled their heels the greater was the sum that was needed to disband them, and the likelier it became that more radical solutions would be sought to their financial plight.

In light of Rushworth's story it is something of a wonder that the council of the army did no more than submit a lengthy diatribe to parliament on 7 December. In it they expressed their amazement that since the end of the civil war, with parliament in control of the entire country, "the soldiery (though much lessened in number) should be no better paid or provided for than before." For 4 months they had waited patiently for satisfaction, during which time their unpopularity had risen greatly.

It is not unknown, what Reproaches and Scandals in this Kind have been cast upon us, and what Use and Advantage hath been made of those Delays, thereby to work upon the Impatience of the Soldiers and Country, to incense the Country against the Army, and both the Country and Army against us, as if it had been our Fault alone that no more was done: and to what an Height of Scandal and Discontent against us the Pretence hereof was driven, or what desperate Endeavours have been thereupon, to withdraw the Soldiers from the Officers

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1 CJ v, 377, 392; Rushworth vii, 929

2 Rushworth vii, 921

(as having betrayed, or failed and neglected, both theirs and the Kingdom's Interest), to divide and distemper the Army, and to engage both the soldiery and many other well-affected people (under the same Notion and Pretence) in Ways of Distraction and Confusion, and (as we accounted them) of most imminent Dangers, both to the Parliament, City and Kingdom, we need not now spend Time to express...<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting that in the whole of this army white paper, which fills a good 7½ folio pages of the house of lords' journals, the wider political, religious and constitutional aims of the army are scarcely hinted at. This, the army's longest and most detailed attack on parliament, is devoted solely to bread-and-butter issues - wages, arrears, debentures and free quarter.

The urgency with which the army felt its grievances can be appreciated once it is realised that the monthly assessment had virtually ceased to be paid for a full year. The first assessment, lasting 20 months, had lapsed in December 1646 and was not renewed till 25 March 1647. By then the number of counties participating in the system had increased from the original 18 to 52; yet the rate was left at the old figure of £60,000 a month.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the lighter burden of taxation it was reported in the commons on 21 December 1647 that not one penny of the new assessment had been received during the 9 months of its operation.<sup>3</sup> Nor had any relief been provided by the exchequer; indeed, the treasurers were to get no revenue from that quarter from the end of November 1646 until the end of June 1649. There was a similar stop in the receipts from delinquents' compositions at Goldsmiths Hall, and the revenue from other sources was negligible.<sup>4</sup> Parliament attempted to make amends by ordering that 6 months of back assessment was to be brought in by 15 January. As an

1 LJ ix, 557

2 According to Lawrence Whittacre the new assessment was at first earmarked not for the new model army but "for the forces being sent to Ireland." (Add. 31,116/304)

3 CJ v, 396

4 E351/302/2

incentive they promised to remit the other 3 months if the deadline were met for the first 6. The money thus raised was to be used for speedy disbanding and the taking off of free quarter.<sup>1</sup> Although this money was in fact raised, the houses neglected to renew the assessment for 3 months after it lapsed again on 25 December 1647.<sup>2</sup>

However, the advent of the second civil war brought with it the necessity of an alliance between the army and parliament in order to conciliate the City and overcome the new Scots-royalist alliance. The 6 months renewal of the assessment on 25 March 1648 may be viewed in this light. The rate remained at only £60,000 however, with actual receipts totalling 85% of that figure. They were to fall to 80% in the second 6 months period.<sup>3</sup> The fact was that with the army off fighting battles and no longer in a position to overawe them, parliament was much less conscious of the need to cope with their demands. The order passed in June "for the more speedy bringing in of the assessments for the army" testifies to the half-hearted response of the county commissioners to the new tax. In the same month £42,000 was voted to be paid out of the excise for army arrears, but the treasurers did not receive the money before 1649, if they received it at all.<sup>4</sup>

Once the struggles of the battlefield were behind them, the army were free to resume their paper war with parliament. In one sense September 1648 might have been September 1647. All the same material grievances were there: nothing had changed. Only the tone of voice was different. In 1647 it had been one of entreaty, but in 1648 one hears the grim determination of men who were not to be put off with fair words. In

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1 CJ v, 396

2 E101/67/11A/113

3 ib.

4 LJ x, 333; E351/302/2



1647 a timely settlement of material grievances would have served to avert a collision over political issues. By the autumn of 1648, after a second experience of fire and the sword, of royal treachery and parliamentary dilatoriness, the army knew that they could only save themselves by a political revolution at Westminster. In 1647 they had debated the terms of the constitution they would have liked to see implemented; in 1648 they debated which constitution they would implement. The reader of the pamphlets of 1648 finds the same material grievances as before, with the difference that they are now unmistakably subordinate to the political demands. These demands were, that there be no truck with the king, no negative voice against the supreme power of the people, annual parliaments, complete freedom of religion, an end to conscription, equality of all before the law, an autonomous house of commons, and an end to monopolies, the excise, enclosures, imprisonment for debt and tithes. Of the 21 separate demands in The Demands, resolutions and Intentions of the Army (26 September 1648), only one deals with the army's own grievance concerning "constant pay". Another deals with the right of all well-affected people, whether soldiers or civilians, to compensation "for the losse of limbs, or havock and spoile of goods..."<sup>1</sup> Other papers from individual regiments tended to be narrower in scope. The officers and men of Ireton's regiment, while demanding exemplary justice to the contrivers and abettors of rebellion, did not fail to lay great stress on the issues of pay and free quarter which continued to render the army "odious to the people."<sup>2</sup> A joint petition from the regiments of Fleetwood, Whalley and Barkstead repeated the demand for vengeance against the actors in the two civil wars, but devoted 6 of its 13 points to the familiar bread-and-butter issues.<sup>3</sup> Petitions from other

1 B.M., E464/41

2 The True Copy of a Petition... by the Regiment under Commandary General Ireton (18 October 1648), B.M., E468/18

3 A Petition from Severall Regiments, viz. Colonell Fleetwood, Colonel Whalies, Colonell Barksteads... (11 November 1648), B.M., E470/32

regiments showed the same balance between political demands and material grievances. They flowed in from all quarters - from Cromwell's, Harrison's, Pride's and Deane's regiments; from Scroope's, Sanders's and Walton's, and even from the garrisons of Arundel, Rye and Chichester.<sup>1</sup> Scroope's and Sanders's regiments articulated the army's sentiments most eloquently when they beseeched Fairfax to ensure "that sufficient and timely provision be made for taking off from the Country that unsu portable burden of famine-threatening-free-quarter (the detestation of both Soldier and countryman)."<sup>2</sup> Only the Remonstrance presented by "Colonel Dwres and six Lieutenant Collonels and Captaines of the Army" expohewed material grievances altogether and focussed on the immediate political situation. It was the first army statement to name Charles "as the Capitall Grand Author of the late troubles" and to desire that he "may be speedily brought to justice." A quick end was sought to the present parliament and the election of a fresh one free of delinquents. An agreement of the People was to be circulated about the country and all who refused to sign it were to be disenfranchised.<sup>3</sup>

6 December 1648, the date of Pride's Purge, marks the time from which the army, now in control of the political apparatus of the country, is able to take it for granted that the question of its back pay will be dealt with in a serious and effective fashion. The flow of petitions all but ceases after this date, for petitions are the instrument of those who are outside the doors of the powerful. Those who have gained entry are able to communicate face to face and need no longer make printed appeals for the

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1 A Remonstrance or Declaration of the Army Presented to the House of Commons, 20 November (1648), B.M., E473/3; The Declarations and Representations of the Officers and Souldiers in Colonel Scroops, Colonel Sanders and Colonel Walton's Regiments, presented to the Lord Fairfax (5 December 1648), B. ., E475/24

2 The Declarations and Representations, B.M., E475/4

3 A Remonstrance of the Army, B.M., E473/3

redress of their grievances. For two months after Pride's Purge parliament was engaged in trying and executing the king. For about a month after that it was engaged in making the necessary adjustments to complete the conversion of England from a monarchy into a republic, and in establishing the authority of the new government. At the end of February 1649 parliament was finally ready and willing to make a determined effort to settle its account with the army.

## CHAPTER II

### The Act for the Sale of the Crown Lands

Twenty four Members of Parliament were appointed on 24 February 1649 "to bring in an act to empower Commissioners to take a Survey of the Parks, Forests, Chases, and great Houses, lately belonging to the Crown, or Duchy of Lancaster; and to improve and dispose thereof, for the best Advantage of the Commonwealth; and to consider, and to present, some way for Improvement, Disposing and all management of the Publick Revenue."<sup>1</sup> Between February and July 65 Members were to involve themselves actively on committees concerned with the act for the sale of the crown lands.<sup>2</sup>

In February it was unlikely to have been commonly known that the crown lands were to serve the function of satisfying army arrears. The army would still have preferred to be payed off with capitular land, and indeed, as late as 21 April more than £100,000 in military arrears was transferred from the excise and the Goldsmiths Hall revenue to be charged upon capitular land.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the army's preference, the City financiers were more successful in gaining parliament's ear. They had let it be known

1 CJ vi, 150

2 The first 24 were John Gurdon of Ipswich, John Lever of Stamford, Colonel John Verne of London, Thomas Boone of Dartmouth, Colonel Thomas Harrison of Andover, John Blackiston of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Viscount William Monson of Reigate, Surrey, Colonel Henry Marten of Berkshire, Lawrence Whittacre of Okehampton, Devon, Humphrey Edwards of Shropshire, Thomas Scott of Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, William Leamen of Hertford, William Say of Camelford, Colonel John Jones of Merionethshire, Luke Robinson of Stamford, Sir James Harrington of Rutland, John Anlaby of Scarborough, Sir John Bouchier of Ripon, Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell of Cambridge, Commissary General Henry Ireton of Aylesbury, Francis Allen of Cockermouth, Cornelius Holland of Windsor, Colonel John Dove of Salisbury and Colonel William Purefoy of Warwickshire. Information about the MPs is drawn from J.F. Keeler, The Long Parliament, 1640-1641 (Philadelphia, 1954), D. Brunton and D.H. Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament (1954), A Return of the Members of Parliament, 1213-1702 (1878), G. Yule, The Independents in the English Civil War (Cambridge University Press, 1958), and the DNB

3 CJ vi, 191-2

that they were prepared to lend £300,000 by doubling on the capitular lands, so on 18 April 1649 it was decided to sell the capitular lands in this fashion in order to raise money for the Irish expedition. This decision was enacted on 30 April.<sup>1</sup>

By then it had been clear for several weeks that there could be no other way of satisfying the soldiery except at the expense of the royal estates.<sup>2</sup> This was officially recognised on 18 April when the commons resolved that the sum of £600,000 in military arrears previously charged upon the excise and other revenue, "together with such further Sum as shall be requisite, fully to make good the Arrears due to those for whom that Six hundred thousand Pounds was assigned", was to be charged against the crown lands, and that an act embodying this decision was to be brought in forthwith.<sup>3</sup> There was still no indication whether parliament intended the lands to be sold for cash, which would be used to pay off the soldiers' debentures, or whether the lands would be granted directly to the soldiers in lieu of their arrears. The first method would have benefited the common soldier, who was in no position to invest in land and wanted nothing more than cash. Parliament had in theory tried this method but had never succeeded in raising any significant amount of money. The second method would benefit those officers who had enough ready cash to be able to buy up their men's share in the crown lands. Despite its injustice to the impecunious soldier the second method did have the virtue of coming to terms with a

1 ib., 189; A and Q ii, 81

2 To say this is not to ignore the fact that the collection of the monthly assessment had by now been revolutionised. From 25 March 1649 the assessment was collected continuously for 34 months at a rate first of £90,000 and later £120,000 a month. In this period of less than 3 years the receipts from the assessment exceeded the  
 50 / receipts during the previous 4 years by more than 75% (£3,158,941.11.7½ to £2,067,381.10.6½). However, even this radically improved assessment was only just enough to cover current expenses. Arrears had to be met from some other source. (Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS A.195A, fo.243)

3 CJ vi, 189

longstanding debt, and it was the one that was finally adopted.

On 9 May the act for charging £600,000 of military arrears upon the crown lands was read the first and second times and committed for final drafting to a committee of 25. The committee was augmented two days later by another eight Members. A number of the Members appointed to the committee of 24 February did not appear on this fresh list, so that there was a considerable number of new men involved in the important business of deciding how the crown lands were to be disposed of.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is heard of the committee's activities until 29 June, upon which day, as the Commons Journals cryptically report, there was a debate on amendments to the act for securing the arrears of the soldiery. The amendments in question were referred to the committee for the act, to which seven Members were added.<sup>2</sup> During the first half of July the house busied itself with the crown lands on several different days. On the 7th the act was read the first and second times and committed for further reworking to 27 Members of whom 16 had not been on

- 1 ib., 205, 207. Those who dropped out of the picture at least temporarily were Francis Allen, John Anlby, John Blackiston, Thomas Boone, Oliver Cromwell, John Dove, Sir James Harrington, John Jones, Lord William Mordaunt, Luke Robinson and John Weaver. The other MPs appointed to the original committee remained on the new one and were joined by the following fresh appointees: John Carey of Truro, Cornwall, Thomas Challener of Richmond, Miles Corbet of Yarmouth, Colonel George Fenwick of Morpeth, John Goodwin of Haslemere, Nicholas Gould of Powey, Nathaniel Hallows of Derby, Colonel Edmond Harvey of Great Bedwin, Roger Hill of Bridport, Sir John Hippsley of Cockermouth, Sir Henry Mildmay of Maldon, Francis Pierpoint of Nottingham, Robert Reynolds of Hindon, Nathaniel Rich of Cirencester, Colonel Alexander Rigby of Wigan, Colonel Anthony Stapley of Essex, Colonel Francis Thorpe of Richmond, John Trenchard of Wareham and Sir Henry Vane senior of Milton.
- 2 They were Sir John Trevor senior of Grampound, Cornwall, John Weaver, Roger Hill, Henry Marten, Sir James Harrington, Robert Reynolds, Colonel Valentine Walton of Huntingdonshire, Lord Thomas Grey of Groby of Leicester, and Henry Smith of Leicestershire. Hill Marten and Reynolds had already been named to the committee on 9 May. It is possible that they were renamed at this time because they had been inactive on the previous committee. CJ vi, 246

the previous committees.<sup>1</sup> During the final week before the passage of the act there was considerable dispute over which royal properties would be withheld from sale to be reserved for other purposes. On 13 July yet another committee, the last such, was appointed to resolve what had become a very vexed question.<sup>2</sup>

The act was subjected to rigorous scrutiny and debate by the house before being passed in its final form. On 12 July, according to Whitelocke, there was "long debate about the act for sale of the King's lands." On the 13th the act was again debated and committed. Finally on the 14th there was "debate all day upon the act for sale of the King's lands, etc. and order to meet on Monday at 6 o'clock in the morning, for the despatch of this act, that the soldiery may see the care of the parliament for securing their arrears before they go into Ireland." We do not know what was debated at such great length, for it is only recorded that the act was finally passed on 16 July.<sup>3</sup>

What can be said of the men who shaped this important piece of legislation and piloted it through the house of commons? Previous studies of the personnel of the Long Parliament provide a warning against the supposition that any simple generalisations can be made about the social or economic backgrounds of large groups of MPs. The present group exhibit

- 1 They were Richard Aldworth of Bristol, Sir William Allanson of York, Denis Bond of Dorchester, Colonel Godfrey Bosville of Warwick, Sir John Danvers of Malmesbury, Henry Darley of North Allerton, Colonel John Fielder of St. Ives, Colonel George Fleetwood of Buckinghamshire, Augustine Garland of Queenborough, Colonel Francis Lascelles of Thirsk, Michael Oldsworth of Salisbury, Thomas Pury of Gloucester, Major Richard Salway of Appleby, Major General Philip Skippon of Barnstaple, Thomas Toll of King's Lynn and Sir Peter Wentworth of Tamworth. *CJ* vi, 254
- 2 See below, pp.66ff. Of the 12 MPs only one, Gilbert Millington of Nottingham, had not served on a previous committee. *CJ* vi, 259
- 3 B. Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs* (Oxford, 1853) iii, 66, 67, 68

the same characteristics of diversity. A surprising number had enjoyed a profitable connection with the Caroline court. Sir Henry Vane, senior had been a member of the privy council, treasurer of the household and secretary of state. With Windebank he had had an interest in the postal service and had served on the commission for the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of England and Wales. It was estimated that he began his life with £460 a year but that by 1640 he had accumulated lands worth £3,000 a year.<sup>1</sup> Cornelius Holland had advanced rapidly in the royal household as a protégé of Vane and was a wealthy man by 1640. Sir John Trevor had held the surveyorship of Windsor and the keepership of Oatlands Palace and had been part owner of the sea-coal monopoly at Newcastle. Sir John Hippesley had got his start with the Duke of Buckingham and before 1619 had procured an interest in the royal customs on butter exported from certain western ports. Sir Henry Mildmay, a royalist during the 1630's, had been master of the jewels. His close association with the court from 1618 to 1640 brought him a rich marriage and an adequate share of the grants and annuities available to courtiers. He too had begun as a man of small means but had acquired considerable substance by 1640.<sup>2</sup> Sir John Danvers had been knighted by James I and under Charles I had become a gentleman of the privy chamber.<sup>3</sup> to / Michael Oldsworth had been secretary / Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and had used his court connections to acquire leases of royal lands and the right to certain income from the western stannaries.<sup>4</sup> There

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1 Keeler, DNB

2 Keeler

3 DNB

4 Keeler



was only one MP, Humphrey Edwards, who had sought his fortune at the court and been unsuccessful. He joined the parliamentary cause in January 1642 after his disappointment at not obtaining a reward for tending the king when he went to the commons to arrest the "Five" Members.<sup>1</sup>

Not a few MPs could boast distinguished and sometimes venerable social origins. Lord Gray of Groby was the son of the puritan earl of Stamford and the heir to a great estate<sup>2</sup>. Henry Darley was from an important puritan family holding estates in Northamptonshire and Durham.<sup>3</sup> Colonel George Fleetwood was probably the son of Charles Fleetwood, whose father had accumulated wealth as receiver of the court of wards.<sup>4</sup> John Gurdon was the inheritor of an ample estate in Essex. Henry Marten, though he was to die in debt, was an important Berkshire gentleman originally heir to £3,000 a year. Colonel William Purefoy was the descendant of an old family in Lincolnshire and Warwickshire and was the holder of "a good landed estate".<sup>5</sup> Robert Reynolds came from a Cambridgeshire family and was quite wealthy in 1640, long before he made his extensive purchases of confiscated lands.<sup>6</sup> William Say came from an ancient family which held estates in the Fens.<sup>7</sup> Colonel Alexander Rigby owned estates in several parishes in Lancashire; Henry Smith had a similar background in Leicestershire; as did Colonel Stapley in Sussex, John Trenchard in Dorset, and Godfrey Bosville in Yorkshire and Warwickshire. Roger Hill could trace his ancestors in Somerset back to the reign of Edward III. Valentine Walton's holdings in Huntingdonshire were only worth about £400 a year but his antecedents

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1 DNB

2 Yule, 100

3 Keeler

4 DNB

5 Keeler

6 ib., DNB

7 Yule, 117

were also impressive: he was said to have descended from Thomas Walton, the speaker of the house of commons in the reign of Henry VI.<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that the men of substantial wealth and venerable antecedents were outnumbered by those of more recent origins and modest means. Many of them could be called lesser gentry, and nine at least were younger sons. Eight were practising lawyers, while fourteen were merchants and tradesmen or the sons of merchants and tradesmen. Only a few had important or extensive business interests. What interests there were seem to have been connected with the new world and with New England in particular. Colonel John Venne and Henry Darley, for example, were members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and Godfrey Bosville was connected by marriage with a leader of the Company. Henry Darley was also a stockholder in the Saybrook enterprise and the Providence Island Company. George Fenwick took an active part in the scheme for colonizing Connecticut, and Roger Hill's family was connected with the Dorchester colonizing company. Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Mildmay and Thomas Bouchier had been members of the Virginia Company, and Mildmay would sit on a committee of the council of state during the 1650's to consider the formation of a West India Company. By and large however the 65 MPs seem to have drawn their wealth from the traditional sources: land and officeholding. This is only natural, since one would expect landholders rather than merchants and manufacturers to take an active role in framing the act to dispose of the crown lands.<sup>2</sup>

It is easier to generalise about the political and religious complexion of the 65 MPs than about their social position. Overwhelmingly they belonged *anti-* to the win-the-war/~~Presbyterian~~, anti-monarchical, republican faction in politics,<sup>3</sup> and to Independent or sectarian groups in church matters.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Keeler, DNB

2 Brunton and Pennington, Keeler, Yule, DNB

3 Many of them were members of what David Underdown calls the "revolutionary party". See "The Independents reconsidered", Journal of British Studies, vol. 3, no. 2 (1964), p. 84

4 The information about the MPs' political and religious views, and their purchases of church and royalist land is taken from Yule, Appendix A.

30 of them had fled from parliament to the army in the summer of 1647. 41 were recruiters and 28 were regicides. 22 were soldiers, of whom five were from the new model: Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Philip Skippon, Thomas Harrison and Nathaniel Rich.<sup>1</sup> 20 of them committed themselves to the English republic by purchasing confiscated church and royalist lands. 16 would later buy some of the crown lands that they had helped to put up for sale. Of the 16 Harrison, Rich, Dove, alton, Hipposley, Holland, Edwards, Harrington, Leaman and Monson would each make purchases of over £1,000. The largest would be Valentine Walton's purchase of Somersham and Crowland for over £23,000.<sup>2</sup>

The "Act for sale of the Honors, Manors, Lands heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen and Prince" is one of the most important pieces of legislation of the interregnum. Occupying 23 pages in Firth and Rait's Acts and Ordinances, it is a comprehensive and skilfully drafted statute which draws heavily upon the experience that parliament had gained from the previous acts for the sale of episcopal and capitular land. The preamble provides an exposition of the two pivotal assumptions that had guided the MPs in framing the act:

Whereas the Parliament of England hath been necessitated, for their just and lawful Defence, and preserving of the Laws and Liberties of this Nation, to raise and maintain several Armies and Forces, by reason whereof, they have contracted very great Debts; and conceiving themselves engaged both in Honor and Justice to make due satisfaction unto all Officers and Soldiers for their Arrears, taking into consideration the many great and faithful services done and performed by these Forces, and more especially by the

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- 1 Three of the 22 were of general rank: Cromwell, Ireton and Skippon. 18 were colonels: Godfrey Bosville, John Dove, George Fanwick, John Fielder, George Fleetwood, Lord rey of Groby, Thomas Harrison, Edmund Harvey, John Jones, Francis Lascelles, Henry Marten, William Purefoy, Nathaniel Rich, Alexander Rigby, Anthony tapley, Francis Thorpe, John Venne and Valentine alton. One MP, Richard Salway, held the rank of major.
  - 2 The other purchasers of crown land were Philip Skippon, Sir Henry Mildmay, Edmund Prideaux, John Trenchard, Sir John Trevor and Sir Henry Vane. (See Appendix III)

Army under the Command of Thomas Lord Fairfax; by which (through the blessing of God on their endeavors) the Parliament is put into a capacity of settling the people of this Nation in, and restoring them unto their just Liberties and Freedoms: And whereas the late King, the Queen and their eldest Son, have been the chief Authors of the late wars and troubles, by whom, in whose behalf, and for whose Interest principally the same hath been unjustly raised, fomented, continued and renewed, and therefore in all Justice and Equity ought to bear the burthen of the said Debts, and their Estates in the first<sup>1</sup> place to be applied to take off and discharge the same...

Parliament had <sup>scarcely</sup> accepted the responsibility for paying the army's arrears in full, had declared that the late king bore the guilt for the civil wars, and had drawn the conclusion that it was fitting that he should be saddled with the burden of paying for them. In this way the people would be spared the oppression of increased taxation. It was therefore enacted that the £600,000 hitherto<sup>2</sup> charged upon the receipts of the excise for the arrears of the standing army and the supernumerary forces then to be disbanded, in addition to any further sums that would be necessary for their full payment, were to be charged upon the crown lands.

The lands were to be vested in thirteen trustees, with the proviso that nothing should be construed to prevent parliament from making any grant of land it wished under the great seal. By a second proviso satisfaction was to be allowed to people having title or interest in any chase or park by virtue of any office attached to these properties. This proviso was to result in many petitions and disputes between purchasers of chases and parks and the keepers of them, many of whom held leases on the properties in lieu of their salaries. The act did not extend to the fee farm rents of the crown which were sold later under a separate act.<sup>3</sup>

1 A and O 11, 168-9

2 on 24 December 1647

3 A and O 11, 358

With these provisions and exceptions the trustees were to stand seised of the crown lands until sale, and were to hold them "as of the manor of East Greenwich in free and common socage, by fealty only, and by no other tenure whatsoever; and likewise freed, acquitted and discharged of and from payments of Tythes as fully as the said late King, Queen, their eldest son or any of them..."<sup>1</sup> The trustees were empowered to appoint surveyors, who, with the assistance of sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs and justices of the peace, were to survey and assess the value of the crown lands. Colonel William Webb was appointed surveyor general and charged with the speedy and honest supervision of the work of the local surveyors. Henry Colbron was named registrar and keeper of all records concerned with the surveying and sale of the lands, with a salary of £100 a year payable from the revenues arising out of the said lands.

On 30 June and 3 July twelve contractors were named,<sup>2</sup> They were instructed to allow the immediate tenants of crown properties 30 days after the return of the surveys, during which they would have the exclusive right to purchase their estates. However, this privilege was not to apply to the tenants of parks or chases - an important exception since the parks were among the most valuable class of crown land. Original creditors (i.e. soldiers

- 1 The trustees named by the commons on 30 June were Thomas Coke, esquire, of Pedmarsh, Essex, Thomas Blount, esquire of Kent, John Sparrow, esquire, of Gestrop, Essex, William Kenrick of Kent, Ralph Harrison, esquire, of London, William Steel, esquire, counsellor at law, John Ireton, gentleman, of London, Silvanus Taylor, esquire, of Westminster, Thomas Hubbard, doctor of physic, of Moorfields, Middlesex, John Cleypool, esquire, Sir Edward Barkham, baronet, Cornelius Coke, esquire, of Southwark and Sir Henry Holcroft, knight, of Longacre, Middlesex. On 13 July Colonel Blount was dropped and William Bosseville, esquire, put in his place. CJ vi, 246, 259. A and Q ii, 170. A and Q differ from CJ in listing John Hunt, of London, gentleman as one of the trustees and omitting John Cleypool. I have accepted CJ.
- 2 John Humfreis, esquire, Thomas Ayres, esquire, John White, esquire, Sir William Roberts, James Stockall, Edward Crescott, gentleman, Sir Richard Saltenstall, knight, Daniel Searle, merchant, Nicholas Lampriere, esquire, Nicholas Bond, esquire, Richard Sydenham, esquire and Robert Fenwick, esquire. (CJ vi, 247, 249)

were to be allowed 10 days after the immediate tenants' 30, during which they alone would be permitted to contract for lands. Only after these 40 days had expired would civilians be permitted to enter into contracts. Thirteen years purchase was to be the minimum price for any property "saving and excepting Castles, Houses and Palaces", which were to be priced according to the value of their materials upon demolition. It is important to remember that the price of land was to be estimated on its "improved" not its ancient value.<sup>1</sup> The reversions of properties upon which there were already leases were to be sold at the following rates:

length of lease	minimum purchase price of reversion
7 years	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ years
one life	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ years
14 years	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ years
two lives	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ years
21 years	3 years
three lives	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years

The 13 years purchase price may be compared with the 12 year minimum for capitular land and the 10 year minimum for bishops's land. The royalist estates were later to be sold at 10 years purchase. The crown's fee farm rents which were put on sale the following year were allowed to go for only 8 years purchase.<sup>2</sup> The high minimum purchase price for crown lands should not be interpreted to indicate that they were the most desirable form of confiscated property; indeed, the opposite is probably true. The likeliest explanation is that since the lands were to be used chiefly to redeem military debentures it was in parliament's interest to evaluate them as highly as possible. Since the aim was not to attract cash parliament was free to price them considerably higher than would have

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1 A and O 11, 176-7

2 ib. 11, 87; 1, 1106; 11, 528; 11, 360

been feasible, had it been necessary to offer them on a free market. It was most unlikely that the army, having no other means of redeeming their debentures, would decline to purchase overpriced crown lands. They were a captive market. It is worth remarking that the fee farm rents, with an 8 years purchase price, were sold mainly to raise cash for the government; the other forms of confiscated land which had higher purchase prices were sold partly to raise cash and partly to settle the public faith debt. The crown lands, which were sold not to raise cash but purely to settle a debt, had the highest purchase price of all. In short, the soldiers were given no bargain: apart from the fact that the lands of the dead king were clearly overpriced, they would inevitably be regarded as a dubious risk and hence a bad investment. The only way they would become attractive to non-military purchasers would be if the debentures which were used to buy them became available at generous discounts.

The act named four treasurers to receive the revenues from the sale of the lands, and a comptroller to oversee all entries, receipts and payments made to or by the treasurers. The treasurers were Thomas Andrews, mayor of London, Sir John Wollaston, knight and alderman, John Dethick, alderman, and Francis Allen, alderman. The comptroller was Henry Robinson, merchant.<sup>1</sup> The treasurers were to share a penny in the pound from all the lands sold by them. Most of the other officials in charge of administering the act were to be paid on a similar basis. Contractors were to divide among them threepence in the pound, and trustees were to receive a like amount. These sums were also to be used by the officials to pay the men employed under them. A salary of £150 a year went to the surveyor general and his clerks, and £300 yearly to the comptroller and his clerks.

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1 ib. ii, 180

The number of officials named by parliament to administer the act came to 31. Considering the despatch with which the crown lands were sold, these posts must have proven quite lucrative to them. Who were these men upon whom the sun of parliamentary favour shone so warmly?

Few of them appear to have occupied a humble station in life. One, Sir Edward Barkham, was a baronet; five others were knights; twenty styled themselves "esquire", two, "gentleman", one, "merchant", and another, "Doctor of Physick". Only one had no identified social status. Four of the 31 held military rank - all as colonels. Ralph Harrison, a woollen draper, was colonel of the Yellow regiment of London trained bands and a strong Independent. His daughter married Thomas Harrison of the New Model.<sup>1</sup> The other colonels were William Bosville, Silvanus Taylor and William Webb. None of the four was in the New Model and none submitted debentures for the purchase of crown land. A majority of the 31, not unnaturally, came from capital and its environs<sup>2</sup> or lived there during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Twelve came from this area and a further fourteen served on committees connected with it.

Of the 31 officials only the four treasurers appear to have belonged to the top ranks of the governing class during the 1650's. All four, at one time or another, served as London aldermen, and Thomas Andrews and Sir John Collaston were also mayors. Francis Allen, the recruiter MP for Cockermouth, was one of the greatest financiers of the Commonwealth.<sup>3</sup> He and the other three were all appointed to the important position of treasurer at war in April 1649.<sup>4</sup> The four of them had also been active in government before 1649. The other 27 officials, it seems safe to say,

1 Institute of Historical Research. Corrections to the IME, sub Thomas Harrison

2 defined as London, Westminster, Surrey and Middlesex

3 Brunton and Pennington, 59-60

4 A and O 11, 64



belonged mainly to the large corps, perhaps several thousand strong, of middle-ranking civil servants who were needed to make the government function during the 1650's. Since few of them had seen government service before 1649, they may be regarded as "new men". They supported the political changes enacted as a result of two civil wars, but without too fine a discrimination. Most of them continued to work for the government no matter what form it took during the 1650's, and the majority - 18 out of 27 - were still civil servants in 1659/60.

As might be expected, many of the 31 officials are found as administrators in the other acts for the sale of confiscated land. Five were involved in selling bishops' land, five in capitular land, 27 in the king's fee farm rents, four in delinquents' lands, two in the royal forests, and 24 in the four forests that were sold to raise money for the payment of arrears.<sup>1</sup> In addition to their duties selling confiscated land, these men served on a total of at least 28 other administrative bodies during the interregnum. By far the most common appointment was to one of the county committees for the militia or the assessment. These two committees were the foundation of the centralizing power exercised by the commonwealth and protectorate. In each county the number of commissioners appointed to either committee averaged about 50. Most commissioners served on both committees and many served in more than one county. 23 of the crown land officials served as militia commissioners and 24 served as assessment commissioners. Most of these men served on the committees for London, Westminster, Middlesex and Surrey, and a good number served for more than one county.<sup>2</sup>

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1 A and O i, 887, 889; ii, 82, 87; ii, 359, 360, 362; ii, 532; ii, 783; ii, 99, 995

2 For example, Sir Edward Barkham was assessment and militia commissioner for both Middlesex and Norfolk; John Ireton was assessment and militia commissioner for London and assessment commissioner for Suffolk; Silvanus Taylor was both assessment and militia commissioner for Westminster, Hereford and Radnor, and assessment commissioner for Middlesex. On the other hand there were men like Thomas Coke of Pedmarsh, Essex, who stuck to his own county where he was both assessment and militia commissioner. A and O ii, 1330, 1373, 1375, 1435; ii, 1073, 1293, 1081; ii, 1290, 1328, 1369, 1374, 1384, 1432, 668; ii, 1324, 1368

On the 26 other government bodies the crown land officials served with much less frequency. Eleven of them were on the county committees for ejecting scandalous ministers.<sup>1</sup> Thirteen were on the high court of justice.<sup>2</sup> Five were commissioners under the acts for "persons...damnified contrary to Articles or Conditions granted in time of war",<sup>3</sup> and four were trustees under the act for the better maintenance and encouragement of preaching ministers.<sup>4</sup> Four were judges for poor prisoners in their respective counties,<sup>5</sup> and the same number were commissioners "for the Security of His Highness the Lord Protector".<sup>6</sup> Three each were judges for the probate of wills,<sup>7</sup> were on the committee for determining differences among the adventurers for lands in Ireland<sup>8</sup>, and were authorized to bring "the several Receipts of the Revenue and Treasuries of the Commonwealth" into the treasury.<sup>9</sup> Two were on each of the following: the committee "for taking and receiving the Accompts of the Commonwealth"; the board of governors of the indoor Almshouses; and the committee for the improvement of the revenues of the customs and excise.<sup>10</sup> A number of others were scattered individually over a wide variety of government bodies.<sup>11</sup>

In sum, most of the 31 officials held at least one or two posts

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- 1 ib. 11, 968 ff.
  - 2 ib. 11, 365
  - 3 ib. 11, 149, 619
  - 4 ib. 11, 1000
  - 5 ib. 11, 757 ff.
  - 6 ib. 11, 1039
  - 7 ib. 11, 702
  - 8 ib. 11, 942
  - 9 ib. 11, 711
  - 10 ib. 11, 277, 1020, 1268
  - 11 The references may be found in the index to A and Q

in addition to duties as assessment and militia commissioners.<sup>1</sup> They were a representative selection of the active civil servants who administered the country during the 1650's. Most of them were involved in the sales of the other forms of confiscated land, and in military and financial administration as well. A few played a part in the management of the national church that Cromwell tried to establish at that time. Fewer were involved in the administration of justice, while only one or two got jobs in that traditionally lucrative branch of the government service, the customs. There was much "pluralism" but it probably did not impair the officials' ability to perform their duties properly.

It is natural to ask how many of the officials bought crown land. The 12 contractors were forbidden to buy land<sup>2</sup> and do not seem to have violated this regulation. Nicholas Bond did, however, dabble in the debentures market, buying and selling about £600 worth of soldiers' bills.<sup>3</sup> A few of the trustees exercised their liberty to buy property, but none of them made a notably large purchase. Ralph Harrison bought the Spittle House near Holloway in Middlesex for £130.10.0., and with two other men made a joint purchase of the manor of Kings Cliffe in Northamptonshire for £1,376.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Hubbard bought a small parcel of Theobalds Park for £200 but later sold most of it to John Spencer.<sup>5</sup> John Ireton and two other men purchased some properties in Horsham, Sussex for £2,064.10.0., but had it rated for Thomas White.<sup>6</sup> Henry Robinson joined with Robert Cannon to buy a few parcels in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £638.19.3.,<sup>7</sup> John Sparrow and his son were involved in nearly a score of transactions

1 A few however held many more. Edward Crescott held 11 appointments in addition to those of assessment and militia commissioner. Sir William Roberts held 10 additional appointments. William Steel held 8 and Silvanus Taylor 6. The references to their appointments may be found in the index to A and Q.

2 A and Q 11, 178

3 E121/1/6/7, 8; E121/4/8/25; E121/5/5/4

4 E121/3/4/98; E121/4/1/53

5 C54/3728/22; C54/3925/25

6 E121/4 9/34

7 E121/3/3/73

connected with the manor and park of Havering, sex and Theobalds Park and House from which they emerged sharing a third part of Havering Park worth £4,733.16.8., with Richard Deane.<sup>1</sup> Colonel William Ebb, if he is the same man as the William Ebb, "citizen and grocer", of the certificates of sale, was involved in three purchases in Lincolnshire, Surrey and Yorkshire, but was only rated for the parcels near York, for which he paid £142.10.0.<sup>2</sup>

Several pages of the act for the sale of crown lands are devoted to the important matter of debentures. All certificates of arrears previously issued were directed to be returned to the trustees under the act, who were to have them audited and certified. Soldiers engaged for the service of Ireland were to have their arrears processed first. After the certification had been completed and the appropriate deductions made for a quarter under the ordinance of 24 December 1647, debentures were to be issued, each one bearing a redemption date not less than two years hence. A soldier could have the sum owing to him divided into any number of debentures provided that he did not receive more than one debenture worth ten pounds or less. Debentures were to be signed by two trustees and the registrar of debentures, who was responsible for keeping a record of every debenture issued with the name of the soldier to whom it was issued, his regiment, and troop or company. With this safeguard it would presumably be impossible to create or market counterfeit debentures, unless one was able to secure the cooperation of agents inside the registrar's office. It should be remarked here that in contrast to the public faith bills which bore interest of 8% per annum, military debentures always had the same face value no matter how many years had elapsed since their issue. This fact must have

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1 See Appendix III

2 See Appendix III

depressed their market value significantly.

Debentures were to be issued, exclusively it would seem, "to such Officers as were in the Service in January one thousand six hundred and forty seven". (i.e. January 1648, new style) All debentures previously issued were to be called in and new ones issued, with the comptroller keeping a check on the new ones and the registrar making a record of them. The debentures of soldiers who had been in the service in January 1648 and were deceased, disbanded, engaged for Ireland, or in any other state employment were to bear the date 1 July 1649. The debentures of all other soldiers were to bear the date 1 December 1649. The act appears, then, to exclude from its benefit all soldiers who had quit the army before 1648. The motive behind this limitation may be speculated upon. One simple and cynical interpretation would be that parliament, feeling that it had nothing to fear from men who had laid down their arms a full year and a half ago, decided accordingly to save the money that might have been used to eradicate their arrears. Alternatively, one might posit a more political motivation. The effect of the limitation would be to deny the benefit of the act to several hundred Presbyterians who had fled from the army to parliament in the spring of 1647. This attractive hypothesis is somewhat vitiated by the discovery that at least four of these Presbyterian officers later bought land under the act. Major John Alford, Captain Nicholas Bragg, Captain Samuel Barry and Lieutenant John Peck all submitted their own debentures towards purchases of crown land. Another well-known Presbyterian, Colonel Sir Robert Pye, also bought crown land, but the record does not indicate that he used his own debentures in the transaction.<sup>1</sup> Whether these instances prove that the limitation of the act's benefits to soldiers under arms in January 1648 became a dead letter, or merely that there were

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1 See Appendix III

isolated exceptions to it, cannot be determined. Ludlow must have believed that the limitation was enforced, for he commented sourly that it had been inserted into the act "by the influence of the officers of the army that was [10] in present service, whereby they made provision for themselves, and neglected those who had appeared for the Parliament at the first, and had endured the heat and burden of the day."<sup>1</sup> However, it is unlikely that Ludlow is a reliable guide on such a fine point of administrative history. A third possible interpretation of the limitation is that parliament realised that there was no chance of paying off all the arrears that were due and so decided to restrict the act to those arrears whose magnitude bore some relationship to the security that was to be offered for them. In the absence of more evidence the answer must remain undecided.

One of the most crucial provisions regarding debentures was that which allowed them to be sold or assigned over to anyone. People who bought debentures were to have "like Liberty, Right, Title, Benefit and Advantage, to all intents and purposes, as by vertue of this Act, or otherwise is or shall be due, and of right belonging to any the aforesaid Original Creditors..." The effect of this permission was to open the way for a great speculation in the buying and selling of debentures. The market in debentures will form the subject of the next chapter.

The buyers of crown land war allowed ample time to get in their purchase money. After making the contract the first half of the money was not due until 8 weeks later, and the second half 6 months after that. Any cash which came into the treasurers' hands, either from rents accruing out of unsold lands or from purchases that were not made with debentures, was to be used to reduce the debts charged upon the said lands - in other words, the army's arrears. The first half of every soldier's arrears was

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1 Memoirs, C.H. Firth, ed. (Oxford, 1894), vol. i, 232

to be paid before anyone received the second half. This provision probably explains why soldiers frequently received their debentures in pairs - for identical amounts. To cite an instance typical of hundreds found in the certificates of sale, a trooper would often receive two bills for £13.1.6., instead of a single one for £26.3.0.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, there appears to be no evidence that the soldiers had any of their arrears redeemed in cash, nor that they ever expected them to be. The amount of cash coming into the hands of the treasurers was probably barely enough to pay salaries at Orchester House. But if cash did become available the act set out four categories of soldiers who were to receive priority in the following order: the deceased and disbanded, those who were or had been in the service of Ireland or another foreign country, and those who were still in the service in England. This and all other business relating to the crown lands was to be transacted at Orchester House.

Towards the end of the act is a long list of crown properties that were to be withheld from sale. The question of which lands should not be sold had been a vexed one and may well have been the bone of contention over which MPs quarrelled during the final few days before passage of the act, when it was most fully debated. The council of state had raised the question on 12 May when it had appointed Cornelius Holland, Sir John Denvers, the Earl of Salisbury and Sir Henry Mildmay to be a committee to consider which of the royal houses and parks should be kept for the use of the state. Twelve days later the council recommended to the commons that the following properties should be kept for the public use of the commonwealth and not sold: Whitehall House, St. James's Park, St. James's House, Somerset House, Hampton Court and the House Park, Theobalds House and the Park, Windsor Castle and the Little Park next the House, Greenwich

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1    El21 passim

House and Park, and Hyde Park.<sup>1</sup>

On 30 June the commons accepted the council of state's recommendations except for Theobalds House and Park which were put up for sale. New Park, Surrey was excepted from sale and settled upon the city of London. Westminster Palace was also excepted "for the publick Use of the Common ealth." On the 7th further additions were made to the list of properties excepted from sale: the Mews, Sootland Yard, the Cockpit and the Tilt Yard, all in Westminster. On the 12th and 13th the act was read the third time and more properties were excepted: Vaux Hall and Middle and Bushy Parks at Hampton Court. Motions to except Clarendon Park, the forest and chases of Pauncett and Buckholt and the honor of Woodstock, were all rejected.<sup>2</sup> Additional lands which were excepted from sale in the final act were the Tower of London, Cornbury Park, Oxfordshire, Pontefract Castle, York Manor, and all "Castles now Garrisoned by the Parliaments Forces in England and ales;... [all] Hospitals or Free Schools;... [all] Houses, Storehouses, Buildings, Yards, Docks, Barge-houses, or other such grounds and places that now are, and by the space of twenty years last past, have been used and accustomed to be employed for the Navy, Customes, Office of Ordnance, Receipts or Accompts of the publique Revenue, Courts of Justice, Prisons, or any other Publique Office belonging to the service of the State."<sup>3</sup> Another safeguard for England's military strength is found in the prudent stipulation that all timber trees fit for the use of the navy and growing within 15 miles of any river fit for the conveyance of such timber, were to be reserved to the commonwealth. On 16 July a proviso was added stating that the act was not to extend to any of the

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1 CSPD 1649-50, 136, 155

2 CJ vi, 246-7, 254, 258-9

3 A and Q 11, 189



crown's ecclesiastical revenue - impropriations, advowsons or rights of presentation - or to "any Reversion or Remainder in the Crown, expectant upon Estate Tail."<sup>1</sup> The proviso is important, offering as it does, additional evidence of the government's intention to establish an adequately endowed national church.<sup>2</sup>

Parliament was not wholly successful in living up to the praiseworthy intention of preserving some of the most important crown properties for the service of the new republic. The navy was a voracious consumer of revenue, and by the end of 1652 the need for money was so pressing that it was judged expedient to offer for sale "divers ...lands" exempted from sale by the Act of 16 July 1649. Included under this new act were Hampton Court and its three parks, Hyde Park, Greenwich Park and Castle, Windsor Little Park with the King's Meadows, Cornbury Park, Vaux Hall, and Somerset House.<sup>3</sup> The fact that there is no mention of debentures in the act does not mean that they had all been redeemed: as we shall see, there is good reason to believe that they had not been. The only safe thing that can be said is that the government's desire for cash was greater than any wish it may have cherished to pay off its longstanding debts.

None of the royal forests was offered for sale in 1649. This decision was reversed in 1653 when the need to raise large sums for military purposes prompted the sale of all but four of the forests in return for doubled public faith bills. These four, Needwood, Kingswood, Ashdown and Sherwood were finally ordered to be sold on 30 August 1654.<sup>4</sup>

1 CJ vi, 261

2 Parliament had previously decided to set aside £20,000 a year for the maintenance of ministers out of the appropriate tithes from episcopal and capitular land. (W.A. Shaw, A History of the English Church during the Civil war and under the Commonwealth (1900), vol. ii, 215). When there was doubt as to whether the impropriations would at first produce this sum, £20,000 per annum was reserved out of the crown lands in June 1649. (ib.)

3 A and O ii, 691-2

4 ib. ii, 783; ii, 993

The preamble to the act for their sale stated that its purpose was to raise money to pay off the arrears of those who were in the army on 24 December 1647 and had not yet been satisfied. It was a significant indication that the act of 1649 had been inadequate to cover the debt that had been charged against it. There was one notable departure from former practice in the act of 1654. It specifically named eleven officers whose arrears were to be charged upon the ordinance.<sup>1</sup> Why these eleven were singled out for privileged treatment remains one of the minor enigmas of protectorate history. The explanation may be a simple one: the auditing of these men's debentures was perhaps delayed so long that by the time they finally had them in their hands there remained no lands for which to exchange them.

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1 The men thus favoured were Edward Mountagu, colonel of foot under both Manchester and Fairfax; John Pickering, colonel of foot in the Eastern Association; Serjeant Edward Dendy; Richard Fortescue, a colonel in Cornwall; Anthony Markham, a major under Colonels Disney and Rossiter; Thomas Smallwood, chaplain to Fairfax's, Copley's and Lambert's regiments; William Boteler, captain of horse under Colonel Lydoot; as well as Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Norton, Captain William Harrison, Captain Thomas Talbot and Major Francis Bradbury.

## CHAPTER III

The Buying, Selling and Forging of Debentures

(1)

The act for sale of crown land was not the first statute to give the soldiers marketable debentures for their arrears; nor were the crown lands the first form of security to be offered for military debentures. Ordinances of 24 December 1647 had provided that arrears were to be paid from 1) the £600,000 charged on the moiety of the receipt of the excise which was to be directed into the hands of the treasurers at war; 2) the revenues from two thirds of the lands of all delinquents "comprehended in the three first qualifications of the Proposition for Delinquents sent to the King in the Isle of Wight"; and 3) the proceeds from the sale of the remaining bishops' lands.<sup>1</sup> Another ordinance passed on the same day called for the speedy auditing of the accounts of the new model army. This task was to be performed by the committee of the army who were also to issue debentures and cause a register to be kept of them. Debentures were to be for the sum of each soldier's arrears, less the appropriate deductions for free quarter. A separate ordinance was passed, also on 24 December 1647, dealing with the supernumerary forces. Those who had been enlisted before 6 August of that year were to have their arrears audited and debentures issued, not by the committee of the army, but by the local commissioners for the monthly assessment. A register was to be kept of all the debentures issued, and the same schedule of defalcations for free quarter was to apply as in the ordinance dealing with the new model.<sup>2</sup>

A further ordinance on debentures was passed in April 1648. The legislation of 24 December 1647 was confirmed, and it was declared that the registry or list of debentures issued was to be "public and open".

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1 A and O i, 1049-50

2 ib. 1051-2, 1053

Additionally, it was provided that if any soldier sold or assigned his debenture to anyone, the purchaser or assignee should duly receive the value of the debenture "as the party himself expressed in the Debenture should or ought to receive the same."<sup>1</sup> In other words, the government would honour debentures at their face value, no matter what price had been paid for them in the open market. The buying and selling of debentures was thus officially legitimized. However, the ordinance was merely recognising a practice which had been in existence for several months or more. To cite but one example, in January 1648 the committee for advance of money had ordered that one Edward Cole was to have half of what came in on his discovery of papists' or delinquents' estates, towards a debenture of £608.4.0., "due by the State to Richard King, lieutenant of a troop of horse in the Parliament service, which is assigned to Cole."<sup>2</sup>

In May 1649 the house of commons sought to clarify its policy on issuing debentures with "An Act for the present Examining and stating the Accompts of the Officers and Soldiers now in the Parliaments service within this Nation."<sup>3</sup> Fresh legislation was urgently required because many soldiers, having engaged for Ireland, were unable to leave their regiments to come before the committees or commissioners appointed to state their accounts. Accordingly, they were now allowed to have their accounts audited by the field officers of their regiments. The colonels of these regiments were still to have their accounts stated by the committee of the army. Soldiers wishing to take advantage of this provision had to produce a certificate signed and sealed by a superior

1 ib. 1126-7

2 Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money, 1642-1656 (M.A.E.Green, ed., 1888), vol. ii, 845

3 A and O ii, 125 et seq.

officer, or, if they had served in a particular county, a certificate signed by two members of that committee under whom the arrear became due. The certificates were then to be returned to the committee of the army or to the county assessment commissioners who were to issue debentures as before.

When on 16 July 1649 the military debentures were declared to be redeemable on crown land, they immediately became far more attractive to civilian purchasers than they had ever been before. The fact that they did not carry 8% interest like public faith bills was more than compensated for by the fact that they alone could be used to purchase crown land; moreover, unlike public faith bills, they did not have to be doubled upon in order to secure a piece of crown land. An entire property could be paid for in soldiers' bills, whereas with other forms of confiscated property, whether bought with public faith bills or debentures, half the purchase price had to be paid in cash.

The market price of debentures was affected by a whole constellation of factors. In the months before the surveys were returned and land became available, the price of bills must have been depressed by the necessities of many poorer soldiers who could not afford to wait for the redemption of their debentures. In January 1650 Colonel John Bright told Captain Adam Baynes, the financial agent for the northern army, that he shared the latter's opinion that "once the land is sett at sale the [y] will [be] giving more then 3s. per pound..."<sup>1</sup> Debentures of soldiers who had been in the army in January 1648 seemed to fetch twice as much as debentures of those who had been disbanded before that date. The same differential probably applied to public faith bills, which also could not be used to buy crown estates. In December 1651 Adam Baynes evidently considered four shillings "a competent rate" for debentures applicable

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1 Baynes Correspondence, B.M. Add. 21418/251

to crown land, but learnt from Adam Claxton in Ledston, Yorkshire that he could get debentures for the purchase of delinquents' estates at less than two shillings in the pound.<sup>1</sup> The market price of debentures used to double on other forms of confiscated land ranged between 1s.4d. and 2s.6d.<sup>2</sup>

The low prices for debentures not secured on crown lands must have been a source of hardship to many. The case of Mrs. Adwick, a widow, was probably typical. Her husband had left her a debenture of £45, but because he had quit the army before 1648 it was no good for buying crown land. She did not have the resources to double it upon other kinds of confiscated property, and yet, as Cornet John Baynes observed, "to sell will be much loss to her."<sup>3</sup> The indefatigable Samuel Chidley took up the gauntlet on behalf of Mrs. Adwick and her fellow sufferers in a broadsheet entitled A Remonstrance to the Creditors of the Commonwealth of England Concerning the Publique Debts of the Nation (19 December 1653).<sup>4</sup> In ringing tones he declared:

...incontinently this late dissolved Parliament have put the Publick Faith upon doubling thereupon [a reference to the recent act for sale of royal forests], wherein it is to be feared there will be double dealing, and that the needy Creditors will be exposed (as it were) to be sold for a little silver, and the poor for the price of a paire of shooes; for they being not able to double, must be constrained in the midst of their great extremitities to sell their Publick Debts at an inconsiderable value, with many sighes and tears into the bargain: And of all the Forrests they have reserved but four for the Collaterall Security for the Souldiers ille chargeable upon the late Kings Lands, and tith with such delatory Conditions, whereby their expectations are frustrate, though they earned their Wages with the hazard of their lives and dearest blood.

Chidley devoted much energy to this cause,<sup>5</sup> but, like most of the others that he backed, it was a lost one.

1 Add. 21420/320

2 J.Y. Akerman, ed., Letters from Roundhead Officers...to Capt in the Army Baynes (The Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1856), p.26; Add. 21418/86

3 Add. 21420/231

4 B.M. 669 f.17/68

5 cf. his attempt to organise a petition "On behalfe of many thousand Creditors of the Commonwealth", Add. 21427/187

In the beginning debentures could be sold or assigned to anyone, with the buyer of debentures having the same right to use them to purchase crown land as the soldier to whom they originally belonged. An open market in soldiers' debentures was clearly not in the interests of certain elements in the army however for they soon had it stopped. On 3 October 1649 Thomas Fairfax conveyed to Speaker William Lenthall a petition from the council of officers, in which they declared that,

some person[s] having more respect to their own profit, then either the honour of the Parliament or due satisfaction of the Souldier, have so far prevailed upon the present necessity, and ignorance of them, that they have purchased their Debentures at such inconsiderable rates, at 3s.6d. and 4s. per pound to the utter frustrating the soldier of his hardly earned, long-expected, and by you fully intended reward, rendering them, their wives, and children into a necessitous condition; and thereby giving advantage unto such persons, as wait for such opportunities to raise discontents amongst them, to the great hazard, if not ruine of the Army. Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, That you will take the premises into your serious consideration, and not only give relief to those souldiers, who through their own folly, are deprived of the recompences of their former services, and brought into present want and necessities, by such indirect courses, which in all times have bin provided against; but also strictly to prohibite all further proceedings of this kind for the future, according as you in your grave wisdomes shall think meet.<sup>1</sup>

On 5 October 1649 the commons referred "to the Committee appointed to consider of the Business of Debentures, upon the Debate of the House, to consider what is fit to be done for stay of Sale of the Lands of the late King, Queen and Prince, till the First of December next..."<sup>2</sup> On 11 October Fairfax wrote the commons asking that the sale of crown lands be delayed for two or three months longer.<sup>3</sup> It transpired that the council of officers had queried the trustees for crown lands whether any immediate tenant should be permitted to purchase with soldiers' debentures during his 30 day preemption period. To the officers' chagrin the trustees

1 The Perfect Weekly Account (3-10 October 1649) B575/17

2 CJ vi, 304

3 ib., 306

had answered that they should, and so the officers had sought redress from parliament. Although they were not successful in securing the complete prohibition of the sale of debentures to civilians they did persuade the house to declare itself of the opinion

That if Sale should be made of the late King's Lands, according to the Opinion delivered in to that Committee by the Trustees, that thereby a greater Benefit will be afforded to the immediate Tenant and a lesser Benefit to the original Creditor, than is intended them by the Act.<sup>1</sup>

In April 1650 the commons went a step farther in meeting the desires of the council of officers by passing an order that bills which had been sold or assigned away could not be used to purchase land during the 10 day preemption period allowed to original creditors.<sup>2</sup> This order was successful in curtailing civilian purchases of debentures, but the officers quickly found a way around it.<sup>3</sup> By getting their men to sign letters of attorney delegating their officers as trustees the officers were able to amass great numbers of debentures for the purchase of different properties, buying out their men's interest in the properties after the purchase had been completed. Thus the officers had the best of both worlds; they effectively prevented civilians from buying up their men's arrears while they continued the practice themselves in a slightly different guise. Their intention clearly was not to abolish the debentures market, but simply to restrict the selling, as far as possible, to themselves. That is why Colonel Valentine Walton's altruistic motion of 10 April 1650, that no soldier's bills should be "assigned, or pre-contracted for" [emphasis added] was defeated in the house.<sup>4</sup>

1 ib. 323. Firth erred in stating that the order of 15 November 1649 met the council of officers' demand for a complete ban on the sale of debentures. (Cromwell's Army, 204)

2 CJ vi, 393

3 See below, Chapter IV

4 CJ vi, 396



It is true that the sums which soldiers were able to realise upon debentures tangibly secured upon a crown estate are substantially higher than the prices normally paid for debentures. Nevertheless, these two commons measured decisively restricted the market for debentures and can only have depressed the price that they fetched. It was all very well for the soldier who planned to buy land or could afford to wait several months or years before his share in a crown estate was bought by an officer. He would likely end up receiving double the price that his debenture would have fetched on the open market. Thus in 1653 Lambert's men demanded, though they probably did not get, at least 11 shillings in the pound for their debentures secured on Nonsuch Palace and the Little Park.<sup>1</sup> For most ordinary soldiers however the commons measures must have been a decided setback, because their debentures are too small to buy land, and their need for cash was so urgent that delay could only have caused hardship.<sup>2</sup> Later, Colonel Sydenham justly observed of the common soldiers: "They are poor, and if you assign lands to them, they must sell again."<sup>3</sup> This is exactly what happened.

Another influence upon the price of debentures was geography. Soldiers in remoter areas got less for their bills than those near London, where the market was most active and where bills could be converted most easily into

1 Add. 21422/137

2 Thus I believe that Mr Christopher Hill is on the wrong track when he remarks that with the passage of the order prohibiting immediate tenants from buying with debentures during their 30 day preemption period "the only hope the small ex-soldier had of purchasing his estate vanished." (Puritanism and Revolution (1958), p. 190) In the first place, it is doubtful that many of the rank and file were immediate tenants. From various pamphlets one gathers that they were mainly apprentices, artisans and small tradesmen. Secondly, given the modest size of his arrears, the average private soldier was in no position to buy land. His only interest can have been to get as good a price for his debentures as possible. However, the effect of the commons orders was only to depress their price still further.

3 Thomas Burton, Diary (4 vols. 1828), vol. ii, 240. Quoted in C. Hill, "Land in the English Revolution", Science and Society, vol. 13 (1948-9), p. 47

land. Adam Baynes regularly paid only 3 or 4 shillings for the debentures of northern regiments. His cousin Cornet John Baynes once wrote from York that he had purchased some debentures for 2 shillings in the pound and that he was willing to sell them again for advantage.<sup>1</sup> The assumption was that they would fetch a higher price in London. In London Samuel Chidley procured debentures for Colonel John Dove at the rate of 5s. in the pound.<sup>2</sup> Dalston Shafto, Robert Akeman and Nicholas Trotman sold debentures to Viscount William Monson at an agreed rate first set at 7s. and then lowered to 6s. 4d.<sup>3</sup> The soldiers from whom they procured the debentures probably received considerably less. George Joyce boasted that he bought up all the arrears of Portsmouth, Southampton and the better part of the Isle of Wight at 7s. 6d.,

deeming himself obliged in conscience to allow the soldiers, who had equally ventured their lives with himself, a more proportionable rate than the common prices of one shilling, or one shilling and sixpence per pound.<sup>4</sup>

1s. or 1s. 6d. was probably the rate for debentures which could not be redeemed upon crown land. It is always possible that Joyce exaggerated the generosity that he actually showed to his men when he bought their bills. Nevertheless, professional speculators in debentures appear to have driven a harder bargain than those officers who restricted themselves to buying up their own troop or company's bills. Baynes and Chidley strove never to pay more than 5s. in the pound, while some officers paid as much as 7s., 8s. or 9s.<sup>5</sup> Officers seemed to expect and probably received a

1 Add. 21417/273, 4 August 1649

2 C5/457/12

3 C5/19/88

4 A true Narrative of the Occasions and Causes of the late Lord General Cromwell's Anger and Indignation against Lieutenant-Colonel George Joyce, Harleian Miscellany viii, 305

5 Add. 21417/310; Add. 29319/99

higher rate for their own bills than did the rank and file. There may be two reasons for this. In the first place, because they were normally for large amounts, officers' debentures were more convenient to handle than those belonging to the rank and file. Secondly, there may have been a psychological factor: financial agents may have found it more difficult to look a superior officer straight in the eye while offering him only 4s. in the pound for his debenture. At any rate, we know that Captain Bethell got 8s. for his bills and that Colonel John Bright held out stubbornly for a minimum of £1,500 for a debenture having a face value over ,000. On the other hand, Adam Baynes usually paid between 3s. and 4s. for small debentures, and there are occasional letters to him indicating that some humble soldiers were offering their debentures without mentioning a minimum price.<sup>1</sup>

Another factor that unexpectedly diminished the amount of money that soldiers obtained for their debentures was the necessity for paying the fees due to the administrators in Worcester House. At first the charge was 18d. a pound, presumably calculated on the face value of the debenture. The charge may have included a brokerage fee to the soldiers' agent, who, for the northern army, was Adam Baynes. Lieutenant James Leavens told Baynes that the charge "bredes a discontent amongst the soulderie", and reflected, "it is sumthing strange that the poore souldiers should pay the wages of the parliaments trustees." Captain William Goodrick also expressed the hope that the burden might be lightened or abolished altogether. That was in November 1649. By the end of December the rate had been reduced to 12d., but Thomas Margetts was complaining from York that even this amount was too high a rate for the soldiers. By the end of January 1650 Baynes had apparently worked to have the rate reduced even further, for Cornet John Baynes wrote, "I am very glad that noe more then 6d. per pound is required

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<sup>1</sup> Add. 21417/199; Add. 21418/241; Add. 21417/267, 12; Add. 2141 /125

in order to the purchase." This 6d. was to pay the wages of the parliament's trustees, but Baynes seems to have reintroduced the other shilling as "incident charges" for himself, so that the rate was once again 1s.6d. in the pound. The regiments that dealt through Adam Baynes probably continued to pay that sum, even though Colonel Robert Lilburne thought it "to be very extraordinary much."<sup>1</sup>

It was known that there was widespread forgery of debentures and public faith bills during the interregnum, and this knowledge must have affected their price. Forgery, by increasing the number of bills in circulation and by undermining public confidence in all bills whether good or bad, can only have lowered their value. The extent to which it did so obviously depended on how much forgery there was, and this is difficult to determine with much precision. What the price of debentures might have been had there been no counterfeiting can only be a matter for conjecture, as there is no empirical method of testing what might have been. An investigation of the evidence of forgery is undertaken in the second section of this chapter.

The table in Appendix I charts the fluctuations in the price of debentures and attempts an explanation of why these fluctuations took place. The information contained therein may be roughly summarized in the following brief compendium:

Type or Character of Debenture	Price Range
already secured on a particular property belonging to an officer	7s. to 12s.
belonging to a common soldier	6s. to 8s.
not redeemable upon crown lands <sup>2</sup>	4s. to 5s.
(but valid for doubling on fee farm rents, church land or royalist land)	1s.3d. to 3s.
forged	6d. to 1s.6d.

1 Add. 21418/159, 166, 237, 299; Add. 21421/103

(11)

The last category, forged debentures, brings us to a sinister and tangled story. The government of the commonwealth was very vulnerable to the depredations of counterfeiters. Since 1642 hundreds of thousands of public faith bills and debentures had been issued in the government's name to cover a great variety of debts. They had been given out by a host of different authorities, and no unified or complete record had been kept of them. In the case of military arrears, certificates and debentures had been issued not only by the committee of the army, but also by the county committees, and even by the officers of certain regiments. The government must have been aware that there was great opportunity for fraud. In the act for sale of crown land it called in all the old certificates and debentures to orcester House to be audited and replaced by new debentures, of which a careful record was to be kept. Thenceforth, in theory at least, fraudulent dealings in debentures would depend for their success upon the connivance of officials within orcester House.

Well before 1649 the government had been aware of the danger of being defrauded at the hands of unscrupulous dealers in public faith bills and debentures, but at first did not seem to regard it as a serious one. The act for sale of bishops' lands in November 1646 was the first to set penalties for forgery. A person found guilty of such a crime was to forfeit all the money which he had lent on the public faith. This relatively mild penalty was repeated in the ordinance of 5 June 1648 for raising £50,000 for the relief of Ireland. The "Ordinance for the Form of Church Government" of 29 August 1648 added a religious sanction: people legally

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2 Clement alker accused the grandees of doubling upon dean and chapter lands with debentures they had bought for 5 or 6 shillings in the pound. He seems to have confused the price for debentures redeemable upon crown lands with the price of debentures which could only be doubled upon other forms of confiscated land. For the latter class of debenture the market price was actually about half what alker thought it was. (The Compleat History of Independency (1661), part ii, 207-8)

attainted of forgery were to be suspended from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The act for sale of crown land said nothing about forgery, presumably because the penalties in previous acts were thought to be sufficient.<sup>1</sup>

By the beginning of 1650 however parliament had arrested several people for fraud and was coming to a realisation of the gravity of the problem. On 2 February 1650 the commons ordered the committee of the army "to examine the many Abuses committed in making or procuring false Debentures, and counterfeiting arrants; and to examine the Business touching the Persons now in Hold for such Abuses..." Colonel Venne was assigned to prepare a report on similar abuses that were being committed in Wales.<sup>2</sup> When the act for sale of delinquents' lands was passed in 1651 the commonwealth was seen to be taking a much more punitive attitude towards forgery. People doubling upon forged debentures and convicted within a year after the offence were to forfeit treble the sum. Half was to go to the commonwealth and half to the discoverer of the offence. The offender was to be imprisoned and his estate sequestered until the full penalty was paid. The government's mounting concern with the problem was also reflected in its addition to the class of persons excepted from the act of pardon and oblivion (24 February 1652) of those people found guilty of forging public faith bills and debentures. The act for the deafforestation and sale of the royal forests (22 November 1653) repeated the penalties specified in the act for sale of delinquents' lands, and also provided definite instructions for the investigation of fraud. The registrar-accountant,

...upon question of the truth or validity of any Bill or Receipt there tendred ...may give order to search among the Bills or Receipts at any time heretofore doubled, whether

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1 A and O i, 893; ib. 1159; ib. 1206

2 CJ vi, 356

the sum therein specified hath not been already allowed and satisfied; and may also, by comparing of Hands with former Bills or otherwise, help towards the discovery of any False Bills or Receipts that may be brought in to be allowed as aforesaid.<sup>1</sup>

How great was the problem of forgery? Who were the people involved and what were the sums of which they defrauded the government during the interregnum? The answers to these questions are difficult, partly because the government was unable to complete its investigations before the restoration, and also because much of what we know is based on the testimony of desperate criminals whose words must be taken with a generous pinch of salt.

One of the first bits of recorded evidence of the existence of fraud is a letter written to the trustees for sale of fee farm rents on 11 June 1651 by "F.A., a well wisher to the state." This anonymous friend informed the trustees that "...there are certaine men that doe tender you Counterfitt Debenters of their Owne mackinge...." The men were identified as Captain Lovell and Colonels [George] Keys and [John] Jackson. Their agents, Captains Huett and [Henry] Cannon "are every day at Worcester house and doe there putt off these Debenters but at a lowe rate." The counties that they counterfeited were Lancashire, Cheshire, Dorset and Wiltshire. The sums involved were, "by their owne Confession", great.<sup>2</sup> Within a year, the council of state, recognising that they were being cheated of large sums, commenced the first of a long series of investigations and crackdowns. On 28 May 1652 John Quick, Robert Ladd Joshua Fugill, George Daniell and [John] Bayly were sent to the Gatehouse for counterfeiting debentures, and many others were quickly rounded up for the same activities. On 13 August a list of several dozen people suspected

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1 A and Q 11, 538, 571, 581

2 B.M. Stowe 184/232

of forgery was drawn up for the council of state. Twelve were in custody and had been charged. arrants were out for 15 more "but they keep out of the way". Finally, there was an indeterminate number of people who had been informed against, but for whose arrest no warrants had as yet been issued. The trustees and clerks at Drury and Worcester Houses were under a general cloud of suspicion, and particularly Edward Green, Mr Dendy and Thomas Rutter. Most of those arrested were released on bail on 21 August, and their liberty was prolonged for several months on many occasions during the next few years.<sup>1</sup>

The council of state tried to concentrate their limited resources on exposing and convicting the most desperate characters among the flock of forgers that had been uncovered. In June 1653 Captain George Bishop reported to the council the information that he had obtained from Fugill, Quick and Bayly the previous year. They had confessed that four sixths of the bills put off at Worcester House on fee farm rents were counterfeit and sold at between 6d. and 1s.2d. in the pound. These men were so expert at their job "that they could counterfeit a man's hand so that he would not know it himself." Allied with them were "scriiveners, citizens and brokers... and some of the Drury House clerks." As with the confessions made by other counterfeiters, it is difficult to know how to separate genuine confession from bragadocio. A servile intent to please their captors as well as a hope of spreading the blame for their crimes as widely as possible

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1 CSPD 1651-2, 565. Besides the five men mentioned, those in custody on suspicion of forgery were Captain [Mathias] Nicholls, Captain [Charles] Lovell, Samuel Furman, William Crane, [Captain] John Stent, John Lewis and James Rosier. The last two were said to be "least culpable". The 15 for whose arrest there were warrants were Richard Hill, John de Butmore, Henry Bateson, Colonel George Keles, Lieutenant Colonel John Jackson, Abraham Granger, Edward Turke, John Philpott, Nicholas Greenway, John Stevens, William Knightly, Robert Austin, Samuel Cartwright, "Mallow the Grocer" and Robert Angell. Other people who had been informed against were Mrs Lovell, Captain Aram, Robert Godfry, Boyle Smith, [blank] Smith, Samuel Chidleigh, Nathaniel Duncan, Hewat "the surveyor", John Thomsen, [Captain] Henry Cannon, Captain Richard Brereton, [blank] Curny, Captain [Edward] Gathings, Gevais Hide and Mr Nicholas Bon, a broker. (SP18/24/225-7) See also CSPD 1651-2, 376



may have induced them substantially to inflate their version of what happened. On the other hand there is the relatively trustworthy opinion of Captain Bishop himself, who testified that his assiduous investigations had turned up £115,045 worth of counterfeit bills. The discovery alarmed him very much, for, in his opinion, "after this rate not all the lands in England, Scotland and Ireland will satisfy public faith bills and debentures."<sup>1</sup>

Captain Charles Lovell, a surveyor at Drury House, was examined next after Captain Bishop. He steadfastly denied having anything to do with the counterfeiting of debentures and maintained that all the papers to do with buying and selling bills found in his house belonged to his wife Ellen.<sup>2</sup> By this time parliament had taken cognisance of the investigations of the council of state. Alarmed at what was being discovered, and not content to let the council continue the work on their own, the commons appointed a committee of 14 MPs on 20 July 1653 to consider the business of public debts "and to receive Accusations of Bribery, publick Frauds, and Breach of publick Trust."<sup>3</sup>

Abraham Granger is the next important member of the ring of forgers of whom we hear. In October 1654 he was brought before the admiralty committee to testify about his counterfeiting activity. The details of his personal history suggest a character of psychopathic tendencies. In 1650 he and 5 of his partners had been haled before the committee of the army for forging warrants and bills of exchange to the value of £3,000. Their punishment had been severe: the pillory for two days, the loss of both ears, a year's hard labour in the house of correction and loss of goods.<sup>4</sup> However, this savage treatment appears to have made little

1 CSPD 1652-3, 378-9

2 ib. 379

3 CJ vii, 287. One of the members of the committee, Mark Hildesley, was himself later named for fraud. (SP29/390/38)

4 Add. 44,937/43-6

impression on him for he was soon back at the same game. Not only did he defraud the state, he also cheated his confederates. In the process of telling the story of his own crimes he tried also to blacken the names of as many other people as he could, especially people in high places. He asserted that Mathew Siddall was his partner in several cheats, a charge that Siddall denied.<sup>1</sup> Granger made the expansive estimate that four fifths of the public faith bills were counterfeited and two thirds of the claims were false. Regarding his own contribution to this alarming state of affairs, he penitently confided that Joshua Fugill was the man who had first enticed him into re-embarking upon his life of crime. In 1651 and 1652, he said, Fugill bought £80,000 worth of bills and debentures which he and John Quick had manufactured. Fugill was imprisoned for it in May 1652 but soon released on bail. Within a month he was again inveigling Granger, and therefore, as the latter righteously observed, "he forfeits the mercy granted him." By the end of the year he had marketed £7,000 or £8,000 worth of false bills and debentures. Quick, in addition to his collaboration with Granger, had by himself forged and vended £70,000 in bills and debentures. Like Fugill he had been imprisoned and released on bail and had also broken his bond by resuming his forgery. Henry Bateson had also been involved with Quick and Granger since 1651, selling £12,000 or 15,000 worth "of which he had almost all the profit." Another accomplice was Richard Hill who had sold £15,000 or £20,000 worth and had a good estate in the country to show for it. "He could", said

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1 CSFD 1654, 378-9, 398. Other people said by Granger to have defrauded the state were Captain Brotherton and John Cotton of Fulham, Colonel Keyes of London, Colonel Jackson of "the Bear, King St., agent general of the new forces", Thomas Cotton "the Compter, London", Henry Bateson of Shoe Lane, Lieutenant Colonel John White, Nicholas Greenway and Major Philip Stephens "at the Angel in Old Fish Street."

Granger significantly, "give evidence against some of greater quality." Another man called Chadwick had received £2,000 or 3,000 worth of debentures which he knew to be counterfeit and resold them to Colonel George Joyce, the man who had seized the king at Holdenby in June 1647. It is possible that these were the debentures that Joyce claimed to have purchased from the men of Southampton, Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight for 7s.6d. a pound. The possibility that Joyce bought his debentures from forgers not soldiers is strengthened by the fact that the men of Southampton and Portsmouth are known to have sold debentures to their own colonel, William Denham.<sup>1</sup> Granger went on to implicate a certain Lieutenant Colonel John White, who he thought was on the high court of justice.<sup>2</sup> White would, he said "have contrived with me and Quick to counterfeit bills of exchange and receive money, but this never came to any effect...[However,] he can testify to much bribery in some of higher note." Fugill had first introduced White to Granger in order "that I should rewrite his own true debenture granted him for his service, by which means he sold it twice, and afterwards vended many more false ones." Duplication of a genuine bill would have been a relatively safe means of forgery since it was common for soldiers to receive two bills for identical amounts.

A certain Isaac Wilmore was the first man who had ever tempted Granger to forgery. His practice had been to buy debentures signed by Mr Hodges and other army commissioners, "by which bills, at his continual solicitation, I made others, which he sold and had the greatest share." Another big trafficker in counterfeit bills was Monsieur de Bontmore

1 CCPD 1654, 398, 415, 416; Harl i M1 llany viii, 305; Add. 29,319/127

2 I have been unable to find a commissioner to the high court of justice called John White in the lists in A and O

(or John de Butmore), who vended £30,000 worth and was, according to Granger, the chief dealer for Colonel Robert Thorpe. Another man who sold to Colonel Thorpe was Colonel Aldric, who also got his bill from Granger. Granger ended his testimony with the admission that against all the people he had named there was nothing but his own word,

but when a part of them are apprehended, they will prove sufficient testimony one against the other; many of them, if taken, can give such evidence concerning some of greater quality as may make good what in my conscience I know, as to their connivance and assistance herein for profit. I shall be sparing, but as soon as I am permitted to search these falsities, according to my proposal, in the offices of Gurney, Drury and other Houses, I will quickly find out some of those grantees, and the particulars of the charges herein. I doubt not, if fully authorised, to free the State from most or all the public debts claimed as arrears for the soldiery and upon the public faith, for I believe there will not be true bills enough, by many thousand pounds, to put in the place of the false. I will make such a thorough discovery as was scarce ever made since the first Parliament sat, and if found faulty in a tittle of my trust, I will desire no mercy, but a just reward of justice for such perfidious breach and forfeiture of mercy received.<sup>1</sup>

Appended to his testimony was a list of 21 persons concerned in his fraudulent activities. A fitting postscript to the story of Granger is found in a letter sent the same day by a fellow prisoner, John Wheate, from the Press Yard, Newgate to Colonel Clarke at Whitehall. Wheate reported that Granger had been behaving in a rude and violent fashion towards him, even threatening to kill him.<sup>2</sup> If Abraham Granger's testimony were all there was to go on in reconstructing the story of fraud during the 1650's we would have to concede that the story was very shaky indeed. However, the testimony of others, combined with the measures taken by the government, confirm the broad outlines of what

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1 C PD 1654, 41, 418

2 ib. 419. In addition to those already named, the 21 persons included Colonel Farrington, Major Carrow, Mr Cotton, Thomas Thorowgood, Mr Teed, Richard Manley, Peter Gifford, Edward Herbert, Mr Barnes and Mr Turke. (ib. 418)

Granger said, even though the other witnesses shared Granger's habit of attempting to lodge the blame for their actions in different quarters. On 3 January 1655, the protector and council explicitly recognised that "as of late there have been great frauds on the treasuries by forged debentures and counterfeit warrants, by means of which great sums of money and much land have been given for payment of debts never contracted..." Accordingly, it was decided to examine the situation "and particularly to bring before them Abraham Granger, and Joshua Fugill,... Robert Manley and Lieutenant Colonel John White..." The messenger to the council, Mr Holding, proposed that to prevent the recurrence of fraud a careful record should be kept of all bills that were doubled. Regarding the testimony of those who had been arrested, he cautioned the council that,

Although it would be convenient to make the best use that may be of those known rogues in custody, by getting lists of the persons they have dealt with, and of what bills or debentures they have forged or sold, yet probably, if other means be not used, the greatest defrauders, who are able to supply them with money to support their riot and excess, shall be concealed, and the lesser offenders, or persons unable to make the State satisfaction, shall be discovered by them, and many innocent persons too, if care be not taken, may be utterly undone. For if they who have so grossly cheated the State can so far insinuate with the State's officers as to credit them, such officers, without great circumspection, will be deluded, and rather made the executioners of those villains' malice and revenge upon innocent persons than instruments of righting the soldiery, whose blood has been a mere prey to those vermin. For there will be neither forgery nor perjury wanting to drive on their sinister ends, rather than cordially make such discoveries as will be to the purpose, and which may be done without them, though the trouble and charge be the greater.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of Mr Holding's words it seems likelier that the testimony of Granger and his colleagues was the revelation of the tip of an iceberg, than merely the incredible ravings of wild men.

Colonel John White was finally arrested and brought up for questioning

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1 CSPD 1655, 2-3, 6

before the admiralty commissioners on 9 January 1655. He testified that he had been employed by several people in 1651 to buy delinquents' land to the value of £40,000 or £50,000. At that time there had been a group of people called bill brokers who frequented Drury House. Among their number were Crane, Turke, Fugill and Cannon, who tried to get White to buy bills from them, "but he, apprehending danger, refused, and advised his clients rather to purchase upon bills already doubled." White did confess to one moment of weakness, however. At one point Granger had proposed to sell him two soldiers' debentures to be used for doubling on delinquent land. White agreed on condition that the two soldiers accompany him to Drury House to have their bills approved by the two clerks there. If the procedure was successful he promised to give as much for the debentures as anyone else, which at that particular time meant 15d. in the pound.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Manley, a merchant, testified on the same day as Colonel White. He admitted that he had bought debentures until two years ago from Abraham Granger for 1s. or 1s.6d. in the pound. Granger, who was present, retorted that the rate had only been 6d. Next, Joshua Fugill affirmed that he had not dealt in false debentures since being imprisoned for doing so by the council of state 5 years ago. Although he had abstained from counterfeiting debentures for this long time he felt competent to offer the opinion that the state had been cheated with £500,000 of false debentures. After Fugill had spoken the irrepressible Granger submitted yet another list of people involved in the counterfeiting of bills and debentures. This time he included their address, occasionally the sums they had raised, and other bits of miscellaneous biographical information.

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1 ib. 7, 8

At the end of the list he noted,

Mrs. Lovell and Captain Cannon have been eminent dealers, and have sold a vast number. I cannot accuse them directly, but Colonel Keyes' wife said Mrs. Lovell helped in the vending of some of those that Colonel eyes had of me. Cannon was once at a dinner where were none but those who dealt in these falsities. They should be summoned to give security to answer for their conduct. When I can search the offices of Gurney, Worcester, and Drury Houses, I shall find matter enough against them and others. There are some of higher note whom I dare not name, because I had no dealing with them; but Hill, Batson and Fugill did. There was a daily dinner of seven or eight of them, and they told me they never passed a bill without 1d. or 2d. in the pound, for their word was "Come, come, you come, and I come." Greene, who is mostly with them, is registrar accountant at Drury House, and is now worth £20,000 or £30,000. Mr. Tandy, examiner at their offices, has grown to a vast estate. Fugill could accuse him. Hill, Fugill, Batson, and Keyes know many more. The search of the offices will produce a much larger discovery than can now be imagined...If I may examine the purchases in the offices, I can quickly throw out the false bills, and find what persons there are guilty.

Fugill shared with Granger this unattractive trait of being far more eager to expose the crimes of others than to admit his own. More interestingly, he also revealed that forging debentures was not the only way to defraud the state. In a letter to his prison keeper Colonel Clarke he wrote

...Richard Hill, who has been a great cheat in most kinds, told me there was a trade going on to renew leases relating to Crown, Dean and Chapter, and delinquents' lands, and make them of a longer date; I know Granger can take two or ten lines out of any lease, and put in what he pleases, so as the witness or any one else would believe it all to be one hand and ink. I hope you will ask him about this; I want none of his help, but desire he does not hinder me.

Fugill indicated in another letter to Colonel Clarke that the defrauders

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1 ib. 9, 10-11. Those for whose fraud Granger cited figures were Mathew Nicolls of Bartlett's Court, Holborn (£2,000), Philip Stephens of Dunghill Lane, Thames Street (£3,000), William Crane of the Greyhound near Doctors' Commons (£1,000) and William Brotherton of the Raven, Fetter Lane "but now removed" (£400). Two of the others whom he named were Captain Henry Cannon, formerly of Edward Whalley's regiment and Colonel John Jackson, "engaged in this sea expedition with Colonel Venables."

also employed the technique of passing the same bills at each of the offices where confiscated lands were sold: Gurney House, Worcester House and Drury House. The trustees for church, crown and delinquent lands had apparently not thought to check one another's lists of bills submitted in payment for land. Another interesting assertion of Fugill's was that army officers were also heavily involved in fraud.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen already that there was a sprinkling of officers among those identified as having dealt in fraudulent debentures. They included Captain Henry Cannon, Captain Mathias Nicholls, Captain Charles Lovell, Captain John Stent, Colonel George Keys, Lieutenant Colonel John Jackson, Captain Aram, Captain Richard Brereton, Captain Edward Gethings (or Gittings), Captain Brotherton, Major Philip Stephens, Colonel George Joyce, Lieutenant Colonel John White, Colonel Robert Thorpe, Colonel Farrington, Major Scarrow and Colonel Edward Aldrich. Only a few of these men appear to have been associated with the new model army. George Joyce had been a gentleman in Lord Thomas Fairfax's lifeguard and then a cornet in Fairfax's own regiment, later becoming governor of the Isle of Portland.<sup>2</sup> His involvement in fraud was at the most second hand, and the government does not seem to have prosecuted him for it. Henry Cannon had been a captain in Edward Whalley's regiment until he was replaced by Edmund Chillenden sometime between May 1649 and June 1650.<sup>3</sup> According to Granger he was heavily involved with the ring of bill brokers who frequently met over dinner to transact business, yet again the government does not seem to have prosecuted him during the 1650's. The only confiscated property that he bought was crown land.<sup>4</sup> He and Francis Thompson purchased indor

1 CSPD 1655, 13, 19

2 EL21/2/7/83; CSPD 1650, 206

3 C.H. Firth, "The Later History of the Ironsides", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series xv (1901), p.37

4 I owe this information to Mr. Christopher Hohler of the Courtauld Institute



Little Park, but they were compelled to return it to the state in 1654 after the government had changed its mind about selling the property.<sup>1</sup> Edward Cittings had been a captain of foot under Colonel Fortescue and had been involved in transactions concerning several crown estates. According to the certificates of sale he had been an assignee of many debentures.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Robert Thorpe was a supernumerary who lived in St. Giles-in-the-Fields or Queen Street, Covent Garden. He made extensive purchases of crown land in Middlesex, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Carnarvon, but never used his own debentures in any of these transactions.<sup>3</sup> He was evidently one of the forgers' best customers and was thrown in the Tower for his misdeeds in 1654. In February 1655 he petitioned the council of state to grant him his liberty in order that he might "perfect contracts entered into for the speedy satisfaction of his creditors." It was, he declared, his solemn intention to repay the commonwealth and other men the last farthing of which he had defrauded them. Edward Greene and John Rushworth were entrusted by the commonwealth and Thorpe's creditors with the task of securing the estate that he had acquired through his purchases of confiscated land. These two reported that Thorpe had "discovered an estate of such value as will satisfy the State for damage by counterfeit bills and debentures, with which he is charged, and pay his creditors for debentures and double bills discovered and accepted,..."<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, Thorpe was allowed to go free for a month. The purchases of crown land that Thorpe made cooperatively with Rushworth and Greene after this date

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1 CSPD 1654, 129, 389

2 S.G., E121/3/3/44; E121/4/8/25, 49

3 See Appendix III

4 CSPD 1655, 41

were presumably all part of the "discovery" referred to in his petition.<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Jackson was not part of the new model either, but he was in the army during the 1650's and accompanied Colonel Venables on his expedition to the east Indies. He does not appear to have bought any crown land.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the other soldiers were officers in militia regiments, or reformadoes who had been retired when the old armies were disbanded in 1645. The double dealing practised by the reformadoes may have had some political significance. It was the reformadoes who importunately demanded that parliament pay their arrears, at least two years before the new model army took up the issue. It was the reformadoes who formed a powerful faction within the Presbyterian mob that harrassed parliament during the spring and summer of 1647.<sup>3</sup> At least some of the men named for fraud are definitely known to have been reformadoes. Captain Aram was most likely the Captain Rodgar Orom who signed "The petition of the Reduced Officers of the Right Honorable the Earle of Stamford his late Armie in the West." Colonel Edward Aldrich, Major Philip Stevens and Captain John Stent signed "The humble Peticion of severall Officers formerly imployed in the Parliaments service" in which the signatories demanded the settlement "(in a Parliamentary way) [of] Religion, Kings Majestie, the Lawes and just Liberties of the subject to prevent the further effusion of bloud..." Mathew Granger's brother John, who used the alias Mr. Paynter, may have been the John Granger who signed this petition under the heading "Cornetts, Ensignes and Quartermasters"<sup>4</sup>

1 See Appendix III

2 CSPD 1655, 10

3 HMC, Sixth Report, "Calendar of the Manuscripts of the House of Lords", 90a, 125b, 156b, et pas in; Gardiner, The Great Civil War iii, 276, 285, 323

4 House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, HL (1645 undated), fo. 221; Main Papers HL (3 June 1648), fos. 50, 51, 53

John Stevens may have been a gentleman in Sir William Waller's lifeguard before 1645.<sup>1</sup> These men's forging activities may have had some connection with their frustration and political bitterness against the republican government.

Yet if Fugill was to be believed, army officers in great numbers, not just a few reformadoes, had been involved in fraudulent practices like claiming debentures for non-existent companies, troops and offices. In the letter to Colonel Clarke previously cited Fugill declared,

You will also find 50 or 60 Captains and proportionably Lieutenant-Colonels, Ensigns and Quartermasters, under one Colonel and at one and the same time, when there were no such men living; as for example, Colonel Booth of Cheshire, had 4 regiments of horse passed under him, when he never had but one troop for his guard. You will find men of vast estates concerned in this business, and officers of trust guilty of many thousands, and yet the way you now go will quit most, if not all of them, except they confess; for what is it to prove £1,000 against a man that has got £20,000 or £30,000 by this fraud? and some are found and upon record (and now entrusted) deep in this cheat.<sup>2</sup>

The commonwealth was very belated in setting up formal machinery to combat the perpetrators of fraud. The first suggestion for preventive action against fraud came from Mr. Sadler on 12 August 1653. Reporting to the commons from the committee for public debts, he recommended that all people who had issued public faith bills in the name of the commonwealth should submit by Christmas a list of the people to whom they had given these bills, with the dates and the ordinances or acts of parliament empowering them to do so. He also recommended that the same requirement be applied to those who had issued military debentures. The officials who had redeemed all these bills with money or confiscated lands should likewise be required to send in a list of the bills that had been submitted to them. A constant check could then be made of the two

1 SP28/135/149. I owe this reference to Mr. John Adair of Sandhurst College.

2 CSPD 1653, 19

lists, and discrepancies quickly discovered. Sadler's final proposal was that all unmet claims for public faith bills should be submitted before 25 March 1654. This last proposal harked back to a suggestion made by the committee of the army the previous January. At that time the committee had pointed out that no deadline had been set for the granting of debentures to the army of January 1648. Many of the county assessment commissioners were still granting debentures, "...many whereof have been discovered to certify Service to continue for much longer Time, than in Truth such Service did continue; and several other Abuses of like Nature have been discovered..."<sup>1</sup> The house evidently did not consider it possible to act upon this recommendation, for there were still many soldiers who, through no fault of their own, had not yet received debentures for their pre-1648 arrears.<sup>2</sup> It was evidently not till more than a year later, on 12 November 1655, that an investigation was instituted by a common committee along the lines that Sadler recommended. The committee was directed to consider all the debentures and public faith bills that had been used to purchase any of the commonwealth revenues, to examine whether they had been procured by fraud or were forged, "as many are informed to be", and to suggest how the commonwealth could obtain reparation and prevent such abuses in the future.<sup>3</sup>

After 1654 we hear little about parliamentary action against fraud, but on 13 November 1655 the council of state directed a commission under the great seal to Thomas Manby, Peter Brereton, Mr. Sydenham, William

1 CJ vii, 299, 248

2 cf. H.J. Habakkuk, "The Parliamentary Army and the Crown Lands", Irish History Review, vol.3, no. 4 (December 1967), p. 406, for an account of the difficulties experienced by Colonel Twisleton's regiment in obtaining their debentures. Debentures bearing dates as late as 1655 are to be found scattered among the certificates of sale of crown land in several places.

3 Burton's Diary i, p. lxxxix

Bridges and Mark Cox to examine discoveries of fraud in the purchases of royal lands and fee farm rents. On 1 April of the following year a new commission under the great seal was issued constituting Edward Cresset, Thomas Gorge, Robert Pelham, Thomas Creswell and Mr. Shapcott commissioners to examine fraudulent debentures applied to the purchases of all forms of confiscated property.<sup>1</sup> The state papers for the next four years do not testify to any dramatic revelations about the numerous attempts to cheat the state. Orders occasionally went out allowing certain individuals a fifth of the revenue accruing from discoveries of frauds in debentures.<sup>2</sup> The investigation of corruption within the administration seems to have proceeded with less than maximum vigour. In July 1656 the finger of suspicion was pointed at Thomas Babington and Thomas Crumgrave (or Conygrave), two officers attending the trustees for crown land, and it was decided that the books, debentures and papers at Worcester House should be examined. However, when the two men petitioned for temporary liberty on the grounds of poverty, their plea was granted and nothing more seems to have been heard of the case.<sup>3</sup>

In July 1657 the commissioners for fraud ordered the treasurers for the sale of all confiscated lands except the royal estates to make lists of all bills except those for soldiers' arrears, that had been used for doubling.<sup>4</sup> The order may have signified that fraud was considered to be less extensive in the purchases of crown land, or that a separate investigation was planned for military debentures. If a separate investigation was planned there is no record of its being undertaken before

1 CSPD 1655-6, 17, 246

2 e.g., CSPD 1655-6, 381-2

3 C PD 1656-7, 16, 20

4 CSPD 1657-8, 43

the restoration.

The commissioners for the discovery of fraud turned up one of the few hard pieces of evidence during the interregnum about the amounts of money that were involved. On 16 October 1656 Colonel Sydenham was instructed to report to parliament that £70,000 in forged debentures had been uncovered and that more discoveries were expected. It is possible that this was the £70,000 said by Abraham Granger to have been forged and sold by John Quick.<sup>1</sup>

Although parliament had definite knowledge of only £70,000 in forged debentures, it was widely believed that the state had been defrauded of a sum approaching £1½ million. This was the figure accepted by the speakers in a commons debate of 9 April 1659, on which day it was resolved to a point yet another committee "...to examine the deceits and abuses done to the Commonwealth by false and fraudulent Bills and Debentures... and how to prevent such deceits and abuses for the future..."<sup>2</sup> To judge by this resolution, virtually no progress had been made in over five years towards finding the culprit and ensuring that their crimes could not be repeated. The horse had fled long ago, but parliament, on the eve of the restoration, was still trying to shut the barn door and fumbling with the bolt.

Although the forgers had contributed magnificently to bankrupting the English republic, and had thus assisted the royalist victory of 1660, it was nevertheless decided after the restoration to prosecute them for their dishonesty. They were excepted from Charles II's general act of oblivion, and prosecution against them began in the summer of 1662, when lists containing several hundred of their names were delivered to the

1 C PD 1656-7, 133; C PD 1654, 415

2 Burton's Diary iv, 385

attorney general, Sir Jeffrey Palmer. The court battles dragged on into 1665, at which time "the Sickness came so violently, that there were no Barrons of the Exchequer in Town", with the result that the whole business lapsed for more than a decade.<sup>1</sup>

It was revived in 1676 when a certain Dr. Edward Warner persuaded the king to empower Prince Rupert, the earl of Bath, Lord Berkeley and others to prosecute the forgers of debentures and public faith bills under the commonwealth. Warner was to manage the prosecution on behalf of these notables, with the advice of a Gray's Inn lawyer called Charles Gremer. It was not merely a desire for revenge that motivated these efforts to exhumate crimes more than 20 years old, for the king had promised the prosecutors an equal share of all fines levied upon convicted forgers.<sup>2</sup> In a preliminary statement Dr. Warner asserted that between 1649 and 1651 about 60,000 purchasers had used debentures, bonds and bills which they had bought for between 10d. and 16d. a pound, and which they knew to be forged. This assertion can only be described as fantastic. The "purchasers" of crown estates did not number more than 700 or 800, and the total number who bought "public land" cannot have been greater than a few thousand. Even if we allow the interpretation that every soldier whose name was submitted for regimental purchases was a "purchaser", the total is only of the order of 15,000 or 20,000. Dr. Warner's claim would imply that every person in any way connected with the purchase of episcopal, capitular, delinquent or crown land and fee farm rents was guilty of fraud. Even then, the figures would have to be doubled in order to approach 60,000. Farther on however he admitted that the commission of 1655 had only discovered 60 purchasers involved in fraud amounting to £70,000. Many

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1 SP29/390/35

2 SP29/390/23

of these men, he said, were still alive and free.<sup>1</sup>

One of Dr. Warner's claims, that "great, rich and eminent persons" had been guilty of fraud, was backed up by his later findings. The first of these consisted of several lists of about 80 defrauders, together with the sums of which they were guilty. If the lists can be trusted they are of the greatest importance, since they provide striking confirmation of Granger and Fugill's charge that the government had been defrauded by people in very high places. The lists include the names of MPs, aldermen and top-ranking army officers. Lord Thomas Grey of Groby and Colonel John Dove, both of them soldiers, regicides and MPs, are named. Among the important Londoners named are Thomas Andrews, lord mayor, treasurer at war, treasurer for crown lands and commissioner to the high court of justice; Sir John Wallaston, also lord mayor, treasurer at war and treasurer for crown lands; and alderman Mark Hildesley, commissioner of customs,<sup>2</sup> commissioner to the high court of justice, and a member of the commons committee set up to investigate bribery and fraud in 1653.<sup>3</sup> Other men of importance listed are John Wilde, lord chief baron of the exchequer, member of the council of state and recorder of Worcester; Sir William Constable, member of the council of state; Lord William Paget, lord lieutenant of Buckinghamshire; Sir Walter St. John, commissioner for the security of the lord protector; John Sparrow, commissioner to the high court of justice and collector of prize goods; Henry Robinson (the London merchant<sup>4</sup> and comptroller for crown lands?); Thomas Mitton, major general of North Wales; Sir William Constable, member of the council of state; Colonel William Webb, surveyor general of crown and bishops' lands; Colonel Thomas Birch; and Colonel John Bright. In addition there

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1 CSPD 1676-7, 495

2 A.B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London, vol. II (1913) p.72.

3 CJ vii, 287

4 DNB



are many lower officers: Lieutenant Colonel Juxon, Major (Joseph?) Hawsworth, Major (later Colonel) Robert Thorpe, Major John Blith, Captain Richard Price, Captain Thomas Ireton, Captain William Disher, Captain Philip Eyton, Captain Edward Gittings, Captain John Minhere (or Menheir), Captain Thomas Lacy, Captain Richard Wilcox, Captain Thomas Francis, John Batchelor (chaplain to Valentine Walton's regiment?) and Lieutenant William Levitt. Most of these men also held the important offices of militia and assessment commissioners, in addition to many other minor positions, and several of them had purchased crown land.<sup>1</sup>

Although Dr. arner's lists speak of purchasers of "Crown Lands, &c.", the fraud that he uncovered seems to have been principally concerned with the fee farm rents. Indeed, the first list of about 35 names is designated in the margin as "Purchasers of Fee-farm Rents". In the other lists none of the sums with which the men were charged bore any resemblance to the sums that they had paid for crown lands. There is the further negative evidence that folio 45, headed "Purchasers of Crown Lands...", is completely blank. Most of the other material, on folios 47 to 73, is concerned only with fee farm rents.

Two conclusions, then, may be adduced from the findings of 1677. First, whilst the lists give us only about 80 names, amounting to a few hundred thousands of pounds of fraud, they include the names of some of the most important political figures during the interregnum. Small wonder that the council of state had been so lethargic in ferreting out forgers and defrauders! Second, Dr. arner's material supports the impression

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1 SP29/390/30, 38-40. Except where otherwise noted, references to the offices held by these men can be found in the index to A and Q iii. See Appendix III for information about their purchases of crown land.

given by the evidence of the 1650's, that there was less forgery in connection with the crown lands than with the other kinds of confiscated property. It is unlikely however that the full story of forgery and fraud during the 1650's will ever be uncovered.

## CHAPTER IV

The Sales of Crown Land (1)

Very soon after the passage of the act for sale of crown lands the parliament's surveyors set about their work of assessing the extent and value of the late king's estates in England and Wales. Within a few months the completed surveys began to flow into Worcester House and by the end of 1650, to judge by the number of particulars of premises that were issued by the trustees, well over 90% of the estates had been surveyed.<sup>1</sup> S.J. Madge, to whose thorough study of the surveys the reader is referred,<sup>2</sup> justly praised the parliamentary surveyors for the great skill, exquisite penmanship, and dispatch with which they completed their tasks. Denying that many of the surveyors were "new men", he concluded that "the surveys show quite clearly that the work was undertaken by experienced men, and that they were completed with the greatest possible care."<sup>3</sup>

Only one or two points need be added to Madge's masterful exposition. They concern the surveyors' valuations of the crown estates. The traumas of the 1640's had resulted in a sharp decline in the value of the king's lands, both because of the neglect of estate managers and because of the depredations of armies and local inhabitants. Nevertheless, the surveyors were instructed to "improve" the value of these estates - i.e. to suggest suitable rent increases. This they proceeded to do, with results that were often startling. In the vast majority of cases the improved values far exceeded the "ancient rents". A study of one third of the royal estates revealed that these properties were worth almost five times as

1 Madge, The Domesday of Crown Lands, 209

2 ib. part III

3 ib. 133

much under their new valuation as they had been under their old.<sup>1</sup> This fact lends support to Mr. Kerridge's opinion that the crown did not benefit from the general increase in rents which occurred between 1540 and 1640.<sup>2</sup> Even after the neglect and abuse which had taken place between 1642 and 1649 it was felt that the value of the crown estates could be multiplied several times and still not be considered extortionate.

But clearly the crown land was not to be sold to the army at bargain rates. While it may be true that the land market was glutted during the 1650's, the soldiers were a captive group of buyers. Since their debentures were good for nothing but confiscated land the government was not constrained by any fear that they might balk at purchasing overpriced land. The same consideration undoubtedly applied to the holders of public faith bills. Only occasionally however does one find a soldier objecting to the surveyors' evaluation of an estate. Captain Daniel Henchman, for example, pleaded for a lower valuation of the manors of Castleton and High Peak, Derbyshire.<sup>3</sup> Captain William Michel of Colonel Mauleverer's regiment protested that he found the manor of Wirksworth, Derbyshire "very much over rated",<sup>4</sup> but he was the only one of Adam Baynes's legion of correspondents who made any murmuring of dissatisfaction on this point. Impressive evidence of the over-valuation of the crown lands by the parliamentary surveyors is found, nevertheless, in the books of constables of the surveyor general, 1660-61. Time after time one reads that Sir Charles Harbord, the surveyor general, could find no higher valuation for a particular estate than that of 1649, or that he found the 1649 valuation excessively high. For example, he reported that he could find

1 ib. 249

2 "The Movement of Rent, 1540-1640", in E.M. Carus Wilson, ed. Essays in Economic History (1962), vol. 11, pp. 222ff

3 SP46/109/39

4 Add. 21419/141

no higher value for Moat Park, Berkshire, than that set by the "usurped authority" in 1649.<sup>1</sup> The manor of Ogmere, Glamorganshire had been valued at £94.6.11 per annum in 1649, "which I am informed, and do doubt is more then the true value thereof...", and so Harbord recommended a rent of £69.3.4 with no entry fine.<sup>2</sup> About Bowood Park, Wiltshire he commented, "I did know the Land whilest it was Forest before the Imparkeing thereof in the time of King James and did not then conceive it to bee near the value Certified by the said late Survey made in Reference to the late way of selling upon Bills and Debenturs, etc..."<sup>3</sup> In a number of other instances where reference was made to the parliamentary valuation Harbord recommended a lease for half the improved value of 1649 and an entry fine ranging from two to ten times that value. This standard - half the improved value of 1649 - was applied to Widoombe Farm, Somerset, with a fine of 10 years purchase, to the castle, chases, park and manor of Kenilworth, Warwickshire and to the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire, with a fine of 4 years purchase, to the farm of the manor of Englishcombe, Somerset, with a fine of 2 years purchase, to the manor of Kennington, Surrey with no fine, and to lands in Barton, Yorkshire with no fine.<sup>4</sup> A tenement in Bonyalva, Cornwall was found even to be overestimated as to acreage. Parliament had set the acreage at 48, but Sir Richard Prideaux, the surveyor general of Cornwall, reduced it to 35.<sup>5</sup> In one entry Harbord gave virtually explicit recognition to the fact that parliament had

- 1 PRO, Crown Estate Office, Surveyor General's Books of Constata (1660-61), Crest 6/1,2; Crest 6/2/114
- 2 Crest 6/2/380-2
- 3 Crest 6/2/583
- 4 Crest 6/2/218-20, 259, 303, 327, 396. I found only one instance where Harbord felt that the parliamentary surveyors had undervalued a property. They had set a value of £83.2.0 per annum plus £6,000 for the timber upon 800 acres of woodground lying in Kenilworth, Warwickshire. "Upon my view", commented Harbord, "before the troubles I thought it much more worth". (Crest 6/2/337) It is quite possible that parliament's lower valuation was due to depredations which had occurred between 1642 and 1649.
- 5 Crest 6/2/232

overvalued the crown lands in order to make them go farther in satisfying military arrears. Noting that some cottages in New Malton, Yorkshire had been found by the parliamentary surveyors to be of the yearly value of £9, "to be sold for parts money and parts Bills, so that I think them over valued", Harbord recommended a rent of £4.<sup>1</sup>

After the local surveyors had completed their valuations and sent them to Worcester House they were certified by the surveyor general, Colonel William Webb, and copies were posted on the walls of the registrar's office for the inspection of prospective purchasers. Anyone could send in a request for the particulars of any property, but it was not until after the preemption periods of immediate tenants and original creditors had elapsed (40 days in all), that ordinary civilians were permitted to make an agreement to purchase. It was the practice of many of the military agents to make requests for particulars of several premises in an attempt to ensure that if some of the immediate tenants opted to secure their estates, at least one estate would be left over. All requests and orders for particulars were recorded in the trustees' journal.<sup>2</sup> Particulars were then issued in the form of a parchment roll, consisting of a few or several membranes stitched together, depending on the size and value of the estate being particularized. In essence the particular was a condensed version of the parliamentary survey, to which was attached the name of the person desiring to purchase and later details of the contract.<sup>3</sup>

The next stage in the proceedings took place in the office of the contractors. An agreement was signed between them and the purchasers and entered in their journals.<sup>4</sup> A copy of the agreement was then added

1 Crest 6/2/549

2 PRO, Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, E315/314

3 PRO, Exchequer, Particulars of Sale of Crown Land, E320

4 PRO, Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, E315/173-4

to the roll of particulars. After the restoration the contracts were divided into three categories and listed according to whether they were undertaken by immediate tenants, original creditors (soldiers) or purchasers with a signed bills. The e lists were eventually deposited in the Cambridge University Library.<sup>1</sup> How they arrived there is not known but their preservation was fortunate for they make it relatively easy to determine what proportion of the crown lands were acquired by military and non-military purchasers respectively.

The next responsibility devolved upon the trustees themselves, who were charged with drawing up and sealing a conveyance of the premises either to the purchaser, or to those people for whom he wished the land to be rated. Relatively few of the actual conveyances have survived but a contemporary list of them was made, probably in the late 1650's, and it may be found, along with the lists of contracts, in the Cambridge University Library.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately there is a much more informative record of the transactions in the six bundles of certificates of sale drawn up by the registrar of debentures.<sup>3</sup> The certificates of sale are the foundation for this part of the study. Like the particulars of sale they contain a condensed description of the nature and extent of the property being sold and indicate the number of years purchase to be paid for the old value and the improved value. The number of years paid on the old value could range anywhere from 15 to 32, while the number of years paid on the improved value was much less - usually between 4 and 7. The purchase price was naturally governed according to whether the property was burdened with

1 Dd8/30/4,5,6

2 Dd13/20

3 PRO, Exchequer, E121. M.S. Ciuse 1, in A Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Record Office (2 vols., 1923), misleadingly lists only five bundles. The third "bundle" actually comes in two separate parts, which is a source of confusion for both readers and staff at the PRO.

outstanding leases, or whether it was being acquired with vacant possession. The fact that most of the royal estates were let out on long leases makes it very difficult to compute how many years purchase were actually paid. Presumably, where there was no competition for a particular property, the price paid was the statutory 13 years purchase, less the appropriate deductions for reversions to leases.

The certificates of sale also stated to whom the property was being "sold" and for whom it was being "rated". Where the second person was not the same as the first, the person to whom it was "sold" as the agent or attorney for the ratee who was the person to whom the property was usually conveyed. As we shall see later from our study of resales, even those who received the conveyance were not always the true purchasers. Most estates were sold to and rated for single individuals but there was also a substantial number that were bought by groups of purchasers, numbering from 2 to a dozen or more. The largest single group of military purchasers were the officers of Colonel Fenwick's and Colonel Robert Lilburne's regiments in Major General Lambert's brigade. The manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland was "sold" to Cornet Samuel Saunderson and Captain Edward Orpin and "rated" for them and 15 other officers in the two regiments.<sup>1</sup>

The certificates of sale spelled out the dates when the moieties of the purchase money were paid. The first moiety was due 8 weeks after the signing of the contract and the second moiety 6 months after that. They also specified the method of payment. Immediate tenants were allowed to use soldier's bills for only half the purchase money, while original creditors and purchasers with assigned bills could submit the full amount in bill. Despite the generous amount of time allowed for bringing in the

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1 E121/1/7/57. Neither regiment's colonel participated in this purchase. Holme Cultram eventually ended up in the possession of Major Thomas Lilburne. (Crest 6/1/11, 232)



purchase money, many soldiers were unable to meet the deadlines. More than a few certificates record the second moiety being paid one, two or several years after the first. The trustees seldom revoked the contract on account of these delays because they recognised that the fault lay with those who were issuing the debentures and not with the soldiers themselves. Twisleton's regiment, for example, paid the first moiety of the purchase money for the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire on Christmas Day 1652 but did not get in the second moiety until 5 June 1654, a year and a half later, because of the delay in rendering their accounts.<sup>1</sup>

The unique importance of the certificates of sale is that they contain lists of the debentures submitted for each purchase. Most of the original debentures that were issued have not survived, although a few of them may be found scattered randomly among the certificates for sale. However, the lists prepared by the registrar and his clerks preserve the important information contained in the original debentures. The name of the soldier is given, together with a description of the service for which he is being paid and the amount that is due to him. Many thousands of debentures<sup>2</sup> are listed in the certificates of sale, from virtually every regiment, garrison and county troop in England and Wales. Taken together they constitute the closest thing we have to a muster roll of the parliamentary army in 1648. No other source rivals them in the number of names listed. Their special value lies in the fact that they enable us to trace an individual soldier's pattern of promotion, in many cases from the beginning of the civil war. To give but one example, one learns from the list of debentures submitted for Colonel Rich's regimental purchase in Kent that Major Azariah Husbands began his military career as a cornet in Captain Lionel Copley's troop in the earl of Essex's regiment and army. He later became a captain of foot

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1 E121/3/3/113

2 A conservative estimate might be 40,000.

under Colonel Pickering in the earl of Manchester's army. In the new model he was a captain and then a major in Colonel Rich's horse regiment. The total amount of his debentures submitted for the property in question was £1,083.13.4.<sup>1</sup> The example could be multiplied thousands of times. The military biographies found in these lists have been included in the index of purchasers of crown lands in Appendix III.

A survey of the lists of debentures substantially confirms the claim of the agitators that their pre-new model arrears were greater than those incurred after 1645. The number and amount of debentures for service in the armies of Essex, Waller and Manchester are at least equal to those for service in the new model regiments. Another interesting fact displayed in the lists is that membership in the army that was formed after the Self-Denying Ordinance was evidently so attractive to some soldiers that they were willing to accept a demotion in order to gain that privilege. Samuel Saunderson had been a lieutenant of horse under Captains Claxton and Turner. After 1645 he accepted the rank of cornet in Major John Saunderson's troop in Robert Lilburne's regiment.<sup>2</sup> There are at least a dozen more such examples. Another feature of the lists of debentures is the frequency with which soldiers submitted two bills for identical amounts. This practice accords with the parliamentary order that no soldier was to be satisfied for his full arrears until every other soldier had been satisfied for at least half. Horse troopers most frequently submitted two bills each for £13.1.6. This figure, which is quoted hundreds of times in the lists of debentures, represented approximately

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1    E121/2/11/19

2    E121/2/7/28

6 months pay for a trooper after deductions for free quarter. Its recurrence provides additional proof that many soldiers did not receive a penny of their pay for a full year or more.

After the second moiety of the purchase money had been paid in, the transaction between the purchaser(s) was enrolled on the Chancery close rolls.<sup>1</sup> All the sales by the trustees had to be enrolled there by statute, and one finds the occasional sale on the close rolls for which there is no reference among the certificates of sale. The most notable gap in the surviving certificates of sale is that of Windsor Great Park in Berkshire and Surrey, which was bought by six officers of John Desborow's regiment for £22,755.<sup>2</sup>

The survival of these several classes of documents enables one to estimate the value of the sales of crown lands with a good degree of precision. Using the certificates of sale as the basis, supplemented by the list of conveyances in the Cambridge University library and the Chancery enrolments, one arrives at the figure £1,395,630. Madge arrived at a lower figure by taking the sum of the conveyances listed in the Cambridge documents.<sup>3</sup> However, the Cambridge list omits several transactions which can be found in the particulars of sale, certificates of sale, or Chancery enrolments.<sup>4</sup>

It has been possible to break down the sale value of the crown lands by county.

1 PRO, C54

2 C54/3506/18.E121 is still however a very good source. The unwary student may, upon a cursory examination, think that there are many serious gaps if he neglects to look at the bundle labeled "divers counties". This important bundle (E121/5/7) contains the certificates for purchases located in two or more counties.

3 The Domesday of Crown Lands, 221

4 My figure is slightly lower than that derived from the lists of contracts in 1662. (PRO, Pipe Office, Declared Accounts, E351/603/86) There seem to have been a few contracts that were not completed and which I have therefore omitted from my calculations.

County	Sale value of crown land, 1649-1660
Surrey	£124,299
Middlesex	118,266
Lincolnshire	109,607
Northamptonshire	103,788
Yorkshire	76,892
Kent	73,946
Cornwall	73,135
Hertfordshire	62,939
Wales	53,985
Wiltshire	53,048
Berkshire	48,421
Warwickshire	43,542
Somerset	42,249
Lancashire	34,142
Bedfordshire	33,884
Cumberland	31,268
Staffordshire	29,820
Essex	29,689
Devon	27,945
Huntingdonshire	26,993
Norfolk	22,718
Oxfordshire	22,547
Dorset	19,472
Sussex	16,627
Buckinghamshire	16,238
Suffolk	14,709
Nottinghamshire	14,349
Hampshire	11,971
Cheshire	11,171
Worcestershire	10,604
Derbyshire	8,617
Monmouthshire	8,206
Herefordshire	6,290
Cambridgeshire	6,131
Westmorland	2,931
Leicestershire	2,164
Gloucestershire	1,486
Durham	1,291
Shropshire	250
Total	1,395,630

The figures for individual counties are not exact in all cases. When a purchase consisted of two or more properties in different counties it has usually been possible to break down the exact value of the properties in each county by computing from the information contained in the particular

of sale and the certificate of sale.<sup>1</sup> However, when one property extends into two or more counties it has been impossible to estimate exactly how much of the purchase price should be attributed to each county. Therefore, the expedient has been adopted of dividing the purchase price equally among the counties in which the particular property is located. Since there are only a few instances where this has been necessary, relatively little distortion has been introduced into the figures. Only in the case of Windsor Great Park has this procedure not been followed. The enrolment of the deed states that the park lies in Berkshire and Surrey, but since the great bulk of it is in Berkshire, the whole purchase price has been credited to that county.

The figure £1,395,630 does not represent the full purchase value of the crown revenues derived from land. None of the royal forests - which were sold separately in 1653 and 1654 - is included in this figure; nor are the ecclesiastical revenues and advowsons - which were reserved by the commonwealth for the endowment of a national church. There are also the various properties that were reserved for the use of the government in the 1650's, and all the crown timber that was "fit for the use of the Navy".<sup>2</sup> Our figure has been further diminished by the fact that many of the properties were already burdened with leases. Finally the crown's fee farm rents, which were sold separately for <sup>816,834</sup>£528,809.13.0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, are not included.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the total purchase value of the crown's landed revenue probably did not exceed <sup>3</sup>£2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> million after all these additions are taken into account. It is interesting to compare this figure with the

1 To give an example: Captain Philip Eyton and Colonel Robert Duckenfield bought the manors of Handbridge, Cheshire and Brampton, Huntingdonshire for £6,618.16.9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> (£121/5/7/43) Reference to the particular of sale reveals that the manor of Handbridge was worth £30.4.6 (the ancient rent) at 20 years purchase, or £604.10.0. The improved value was put at £163.1.8. for which 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> years purchase or £733.17.6 was demanded. The total value for Handbridge was therefore £1,338.7.6. and by subtraction the value of Brampton was £5,280.9.3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. (£320/217)

2 See above, Chapter III

3 ~~Widge, The Domesday of Crown Lands, 256~~  
See above, p.8

value of the crown lands sold between 1558 and 1635. In that period the three monarchs divested themselves of land worth £2,240,000.<sup>1</sup> Considering both the rise in prices since 1558 and the inflated valuation of the crown lands in 1650 it seems clear that during the 80 year period before the civil war the crown had alienated well over half its landed wealth.

Since the purpose of putting the crown lands up for sale in 1649 was to satisfy military arrears, it is natural to suppose that soldiers were the main purchasers. On the whole this supposition turns out to be true, although a significant number of soldiers later sold their land to civilians. Among the initial purchasers, however, were roughly 300 civilians who paid a total of £250,092, or 18% of the total value of the crown lands. These civilians are not simply defined as those who bought as immediate tenants or with assigned bills. Not all soldiers bought land as original creditors: a few also bought with assigned bills and as immediate tenants. To compose a list of civilian purchasers, therefore, it was necessary to exclude soldiers from the lists of immediate tenants and purchasers with assigned bills. A variety of sources was used to identify the soldiers in these two lists. There were the printed lists of officers contained in Joshua Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva, Peacock's Army Lists, and the index to Firth and Davies' Regimental History. There were a few muster rolls in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers,<sup>2</sup> as well as other miscellaneous lists. There were the many petitions from officers to parliament found in the Thomason Tracts and in the house of lords manuscripts. There were the commissions noted in the Calendars of the State Papers Domestic. Finally, there were the lists of debentures in the certificates of sale of crown land, which were the most valuable source of all. Even ith such a

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1 R.H. Tawney, "The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640", Economic History Review xi (1941), p. 25

2 PRO, SP28

wide range of sources it would be rash to assert that all the military purchasers have been identified. The most that can be said about the 303 "civilian" purchasers is that no evidence has been found that any of them was a soldier.

A solid majority of the civilian purchasers were gentry. Yeoman purchasers numbered less than a quarter of the gentry and the average size of their purchases was considerably smaller. This finding strengthens the impression that the yeomanry in this period were a much less important class economically than has sometimes been thought. It also suggests that the bottom layer of the landed classes failed to make any significant improvement in their position as a result of the sales of crown land. Even the small civilian purchases were made chiefly by men who styled themselves "gentleman" or "esquire".

Social Status of Civilians Who Purchased from the Crown Trustees

status	number	value of purchases	value as a %
baron	1	£104	0.0
baronet	1	8,120	3.1
knight	3	4,091	1.6
esquire	43	63,858	25.4
gentleman	101	71,279	28.4
yeoman	35	16,044	6.3
husbandman	2	283	0.1
lawyer	13	11,573	4.5
merchant	6	16,758	6.6
citizen tradesman (London)	21	22,351	8.8
non-citizen tradesman (London)	17	12,317	4.8
provincial tradesmen	10	4,520	1.8
towns and corporations	3	1,013	0.4
widows	7	976	0.4
miscellaneous and unidentified	40	19,803	7.8
Total	303	250,092	100.0

The value of the gentry purchases was close to three fifths of the total. Of the three fifths, well over 40% was accounted for by London and

## Middlesex gentry.

Gentry Purchasers(a) London and Middlesex

status	number	amount
baronet	1	£8,120
knight	0	0
esquire	12	24,058
gentleman	41	25,789
Total	54	57,967

(b) Provincial

status	number	amount
baronet	0	£0
knight	3	4,091
esquire	31	39,800
gentleman	60	42,963
Total	94	86,854

Among the civilian purchasers as a whole the predominance of Londoners is even more apparent, for they accounted for more than half the purchases where the purchaser's geographic origin could be discovered.

Geographic Origin of Civilian Purchasers

	number	amount	amount as a %
London and Middlesex	112	£112,197	48
Provincial	151	109,092	44
unidentified	40	19,803	8
Total	303	250,092	100

Thus it appears that the social pattern of the civilian purchases of crown land was different from the pattern of delinquent land purchases. The class who benefited most from the sales of delinquent land seem to have been prosperous, locally established gentry who had been making solid economic



gains for the past hundred years.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the civilian purchasers of crown lands, Londoners bought more than people from the provinces, even though the latter out-numbered them considerably. The modest amounts paid by the 151 provincial purchasers also points clearly to the conclusion that the upper gentry took little interest in the sales of crown land. The larger civilian purchases were made chiefly by Londoners who, having made their fortune in the metropolis, were probably anxious to improve their social position by investing in a landed estate.

Approximately half the civilians purchased locally; that is to say, their purchases were located in the county in which they lived. Although this definition of "local" is admittedly a rough one, it would be difficult to arrive at a more precise definition that could be translated into statistical form.

Local and non-Local Purchases by Civilians

	number	value	value as a %	average value of purchase
local	167	£108,935	44	£652
non local	111	121,804	49	1,097
unidentified	25	19,353	7	774
Total	303	250,092	100	825

The classification of purchases as "local" or "non local" would not be useful if a wide difference between the two categories did not emerge. Such a difference does emerge from a comparison of the average value of the purchases in the two categories. Only 111 civilians can be identified positively as having purchased non locally, yet their total purchases

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1 of. I. Joan Thirsk, "The Sales of Delinquents' Estates during the Interregnum, and the Land Settlement of the restoration", University of London, unpublished PhD thesis (1950), pp. 131, 163

exceeded the value of those made by the 167 who bought locally, and their average value was nearly twice that of the local purchases. The inference is that the smaller, parochial gentry confined their land buying to the county in which they resided; while it was the more substantial landowners and urban merchants who possessed the means and the desire to range farther afield. In fact many of the civilians who made large purchases non locally were Londoners. Edward Backwell, the young goldsmith who later became a state financier to both Cromwell and Charles II, purchased most of Hampton Court for £5,110.10.0. When in 1654 the commonwealth regretted having parted with this choice property, it generously paid Backwell £6,202.17.0. to get it back.<sup>1</sup> A London grocer, Gregory Walklate, was rated for Heigline Park, Staffordshire, which had been bought on his behalf by another London merchant, Captain John Hensdell for £5,540.8.4.<sup>2</sup> Richard Brudnell, a skinner, and William Sutton, a haberdasher, bought Moat Park, Berkshire for £6,739.1.2.<sup>3</sup> Another merchant, Giles Sumpter, bought lands and tenements in the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £8,310.9.8. and the honey warren of Layston, Suffolk for £779.10.0.<sup>4</sup> Only three lawyers made purchases of any appreciable size. Richard Graves of Lincoln's Inn bought the manor house of Kennington, Surrey, of which he was the immediate tenant, for £2,065.0.7½.<sup>5</sup> Thomas White of Clifford's Inn bought lands, mills and tenements in Horsham, Sussex, of which he was the immediate tenant, for £2,064.10.0.<sup>6</sup> Lislebone Long of Lincoln's Inn bought the manor of Stratton-

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1 J.R. Woodhead, The Rulers of London, 1660-1689 (1965), p. 21; E121/3/4/136; CSPD 1654, 18

2 E121/4/6/91

3 C54/3503/40

4 E121/4/1/59; E121/4/7/8

5 E121/4/8/1; Dd8/30/5/1

6 E121/4/9/34; Dd8/30/5/4, 6, 7

on-the-Fosse, Somerset for £1,502.9.9.<sup>1</sup> A few Londoners were able to purchase locally. John Trac, a merchant bought the Kensington division of Hyde Park for £3,906.7.6. and Richard Illoox, esquire of Kensington bought the Gravel Pit division of Hyde Park for £4,141.11.0.<sup>2</sup>

A number of Members of Parliament and government officials made purchases, some of which were substantial. Cornelius Holland, MP for Windsor, a zealous puritan and regicide, joined with Humphrey Jones, a mercer, to buy ten manors in Radnorshire. The five manors that were assigned to Holland cost £3,452.10.7½.<sup>3</sup> Holland was the immediate tenant of the manor of Creslow, Buckinghamshire, which he also bought for £4,796.2.4.<sup>4</sup> He had been active in framing the act for sale of crown lands and had been appointed to three of the committees that were charged with drawing it up. He was also on the committee for removing obstructions to the sale of crown land. After the execution of the king he was appointed to the council of state on which he sat during most of the interregnum.<sup>5</sup> Humphrey Edwards, another regicide, was the recruiting MP for Shropshire. During the commonwealth he served on the committee of revenue and was appointed a commissioner of South Wales. Through guile he took over the chief ushership of the Exchequer for Clement Walker after the latter's incarceration in the Tower of London. A short time later, on 21 March 1650, he forcibly took possession of Walker's official residence.<sup>6</sup> In 1651, after the insurrection in South Wales, he was added to the high court of justice.<sup>7</sup> This ambitious

1 E121/4/5/84

2 E121/3/4/133, 134

3 E121/5/6/19

4 C54/3595/46; D48/30/5/1

5 CSPD 1649-50, 6. See also Appendix III

6 DNB

7 CSPD 1651, 266-7

man bought several properties in Essex, Middlesex and Northamptonshire. In Essex he made two purchases of messuages and tenements in the manor of West Ham for £2,220.0.4, and £482.0.4. In Middlesex he bought the Suffolk Stables, and in Northamptonshire several lands and tenements in Greens-Norton, together for £2,246.13.9. At a later date he bought a substantial part of the manor of Richmond, Surrey from Captains Adam Baynes and William Goodrick for £2,490.<sup>1</sup>

Sir James Harrington, baronet, a cousin of the author of Oceana, was another MP who bought crown land. The recruiter MP for Rutland, he was active in the committees on the act for sale of crown lands, and later a member of the council of state, and also sat in the Rump.<sup>2</sup> He bought several parcels of ground within the manor of Grafton, Northamptonshire with assigned bills for £8,120.<sup>3</sup> Other MPs made smaller purchases. Edmund Prideaux, the commissioner of the great seal, and later attorney general under the commonwealth, was said to have amassed great wealth during the reign of the puritans, but he made only one small purchase of crown land: the Sidmouth Mills in Devon, for which he paid £429.6.8.<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Mildmay, a distinguished Member of the Long Parliament and Rump, as well as the council of state from 1649 to 1652, bought Little St John's Wood and Highbury Wood in the parish of Islington, Middlesex, properties of which he was the immediate tenant, for £327.6.4.<sup>5</sup> John Trenchard was the younger son of a distinguished Dorset family, and sat for Wareham from 1640 to 1653. A member of the committee for advance of money and the Goldsmiths Hall committee, as well as the wartime committees for his county, he was possibly the same John Trenchard

1 E121/2/5/6; E121/2/5/39; E121/5/7/73; C54/3586/13

2 Brunton and Pennington, op. cit., 233; DNE; CJ vi, 150, 246

3 E121/4/1/89

4 DNE; Keeler, op. cit.; E121/2/2/34

5 Keeler, op. cit.; DNE; E121/3/4/80

who bought Vaux Hall in the parish of Lambeth, Surrey for £750.<sup>1</sup> Finally, Sir Henry Vane, senior, the MP for Ilton, made a small purchase of the lands called Hallerbush in Durham for £128.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Gregory Norton was the tenant of the royal park at Oatlands, Surrey. Although not an MP, he served the commonwealth as militia commissioner for Surrey from 1651.<sup>3</sup> He bought the two manors of Landulph and Clisland Prior, Cornwall for £3,636.5.6.<sup>4</sup> He was also an active speculator in debentures. Besides the ones which he used in his own purchase he bought more than £1,000 in soldiers' bills, later selling them to four separate buyers of land.<sup>5</sup> Henry Robinson, the London merchant who was appointed comptroller of the crown lands in 1649, and who later grew rich through his exploitation of the farm of the post office, dabbled in crown lands to the extent of buying a few tenements and parcels of land in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire, for which he and Robert Cannon paid £638.19.3.<sup>6</sup>

As we have already noted, the number of important purchases made by provincial gentry was not large. The largest purchase was made by Anthony Deane of Deane's Hall, Essex, who paid £9,020.8.2. for three divisions of Hyde Park.<sup>7</sup> Henry Murry, esquire, of Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, was rated for the park and manor house of Berkhamsted for £5,220.11.3. Murry's agent in this purchase was John Alford, who had been the Presbyterian major of Colonel Rich's regiment until his flight in June 1647.<sup>8</sup> Samuel Steevens, gentleman, of Bray, Berkshire, got several tenements of which he was the

1 E121/4/8/120

2 Dd13/20/138/564

3 CSPD 1651-2, 88; CSPD 1651, 408

4 E121/1/6/20

5 E121/2/5/39; E121/4/1/57; E121/4/9/63; E121/5/7/73

6 DNB; E121/3/3/75

7 E121/3/4/132

8 E320/C17

immediate tenant in the bailiwick of St James-in-the-Fields, Middlesex for 3,578.17.2½.<sup>1</sup> Joseph Micklethwaite, esquire, of York, was r ted for the manor of Leavening, Yorkshire, which was bought on his behalf for £3,062.15.4.<sup>2</sup> John Bampffield, es uire, of Hardington, Somerset, the immediate tenant of the manor of Laverton, bought that property for £2,491.19.5.<sup>3</sup> William Scott, esquire, of Lambeth, bought the manor of Kennington, Surrey for £3,339.6.3½.<sup>4</sup> All other purchases by individual civilians were less than £2,000, and the great majority were less than £1,000.

ost civilian purchases were made by individuals but there were a few group purchases. Three corporations bought small properties: Grantham, Lincolnshire, King's Lynn, Norfolk and the Hospital of Orphans' Aid, Plymouth.<sup>5</sup> Two of the most interesting group purchases were made by large blocks of yeomen. Edward Stevens, a local gentleman, bought a large property consisting of lands and tenements in the man r of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £7,505.15.0. The purchase was made on behalf of 36 people, all but one of whom appear to have been yeomen, and who were the immediate tenants of the property.<sup>6</sup> John Dale, another Lincolnshire gentleman, also bought part of the manor of Spalding for £1,184.7.6. The purchase was made on behalf of himself and 13 others.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the activity of tenants in Lincolnshire in the two instances just cited, there was very little buying of crown land by small tenants.

There is little reason for believing that many of the civilians whose names appear in the certificates of sale and lists of conveyances were

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1 E121/3/4/41

2 E121/5/5/4

3 E121/4/5/87

4 E121/4/8/22

5 See Appendix III

6 E121/3/3/81

7 E121/3/3/127

acting as agents for other purchasers. Very few bought more than one property and none bought more than three. Every civilian's total purchases amounted to less than £10,000. Clearly there were no men like John Wildman who were involved in dozens of purchases of individual royalists' land, usually on behalf of former owners. It is easy to see why this was so. In the first place, the former owner - the crown - was in no position to repurchase its estates. Equally, any civilian who aspired to act as an agent for purchasers of crown lands would have to labour under a severe disadvantage vis à vis his military competitors. Unless he were an immediate tenant he would have to wait until the 30 day preemption period allowed to original creditors had elapsed before he could bid for a property. He would again be at a disadvantage when it came to buying debentures. The officers, because of their close association with their men, would naturally have the first chance to buy their debentures. Thus, the fact that officers would be in a superior position to bid both for royal property and soldiers' debentures renders it extremely unlikely that civilians would be acting as agents. To test this hypothesis a random sample of civilian <sup>purchasers</sup> resales was checked in the close rolls index of grantors. As almost no instances of resales were uncovered, a full study of civilian resales was considered unnecessary. The other half of the hypothesis, that it was officers who acted as agents for other purchasers, was also found to be true, as will be shown in Chapter V.

In addition to the great bulk of civilian purchasers who did not transfer their purchases to another party, there was also a large group of soldiers who kept their purchases. Indeed, there seems to have been less a transference of crown land after the initial purchases than there was of delinquent land. The difference can doubtless be attributed to the fact that in the latter case there was a large amount of activity by royalists seeking to recover their forfeited estates. In the case of the

crown lands, obviously, there was no such phenomenon; consequently, a high proportion of soldiers retained the land that they bought from the trustees in Greener House.

The soldier who was most heavily involved in crown land transactions was Captain Adam Baynes of Knowstrop, Yorkshire. During the civil war he had been in Lambert's regiment, but after 1649 he was stationed in London where he acted as the financial agent of the northern army. Not only was he involved in the land market, he also lobbied actively on behalf of his men for their arrears. His importance and abilities were gradually recognised by the government of the commonwealth. Sometime after 1650 he seems to have been appointed a commissioner for inland revenue and took up quarters in Old Somerset House.<sup>1</sup> In 1654 he was appointed a member of the committee "to act impartially in assigning ships to their respective harbours".<sup>2</sup> He was active in the sea trade, with a part interest in a merchant ship, the "Providence", which sailed from Scottish ports.<sup>3</sup> In 1654 he was also voted a salary of £300 for his service as commissioner of appeals and for regulating the excise. In the same year he was appointed to the army committee charged with issuing warrants to the treasurers at war to pay out the £90,000 monthly assessment to the forces in England, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>4</sup> The following year he was one of the people ordered to execute the law prohibiting the planting of tobacco in England.<sup>5</sup> In 1656 he was on the committee for the excise.<sup>6</sup> In 1654 and 1656 he was returned as MP for Leeds. In 1659 he was MP for Appleby, Westmorland.<sup>7</sup> His correspondence with Leeds

1 J.Y. Akerman, ed., Letters from Roundhead Officers, p. xii

2 DSPD 1654, 51

3 Add. 21421/136

4 CSPD 1654, 343, 385

5 CSPD 1655, 201

6 Add. 21427/243

7 J.Y. Akerman, op. cit., pp. xii, xiii



aldermen shows that he was actively concerned in the government of that city.<sup>1</sup> In religion he appears to have held radical views, for in 1655 he was listed as one of those "loving to the friends".<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the crown lands, he purchased over £100,000 worth, mainly on behalf of northern regiments. One property however he bought for himself: the manor and park of Holdenby, Northamptonshire.<sup>3</sup> He paid £22,299.6.10. for it, using bills from Major General Lambert's brigade. Two of the bills, for identical amounts of £1,061.10.0. were his own. They covered his service as captain of foot in Lord Ferdinando Fairfax's regiment, and as captain of horse in the regiments of Lord Fairfax and Colonel Christopher Copley. During the 1650's Baynes took up residence in Northamptonshire in order to look after his estate, and was JP for the county in 1657. However, he did not live at Holdenby but probably at nearby Teeton.<sup>4</sup> Because the house and its attached buildings were in bad repair, Baynes decided to pull them down and sell the materials. The materials fetched only £3,500, despite having been valued at £6,000 in the parliamentary survey.<sup>5</sup> He also sold one third of the 500 acre park to Colonel Henry Lilburne's widow Anne (who later married Captain Thomas Talbot) for £1,940.<sup>6</sup> The manor was more than twice as large as the park, and Baynes had evidently hoped to divide them into small holdings to be leased out at improved rents. But he was largely thwarted in this hope by the fact that most of the manor had already been let out to Sir Thomas <sup>H</sup>Patton until 1664.<sup>7</sup> The feet of fines record that Baynes conveyed the

1 Add. 21427, passim

2 CSPD 1655-6, 64

3 EL21/4/1/30

4 Sir Gyles Isham, "Adam Baynes of Leeds and Holdenby", Northamptonshire Past and Present vol. ii, no. 3 (1956), pp. 139, 144

5 Add. 21419/123; Isham, op. cit., 140

6 C54/3636/39

7 Add. 21427/294

bulk of the manor (912 acres) to his brother Robert and four other men in 1657.<sup>1</sup> However, this transaction appears to have been a trust and not an outright sale, because the proceedings after the restoration indicate that Baynes was still in possession. As part of the queen's jointure, Holdenby was taken from him in 1660, amid charges that he had wreaked great destruction on it. However, there is ample evidence that the destruction occurred before Baynes took possession of Holdenby.<sup>2</sup>

If it is true that Colonel Thomas Pride had been only a drayman, as the royalists maliciously reported, then the new model army became the vehicle of his rapid social rise. In July 1652 he bought Nonsuch Great Park in Surrey for £11,591.8.8.<sup>3</sup> A reference in the close rolls for 1657 shows that he took up residence there.<sup>4</sup> This evidence is corroborated by the fact that he was appointed high sheriff of Surrey in 1655-6. In 1656 he was knighted by the protector, and in 1657 he completed his social ascent by being named to the Cromwellian house of lords.<sup>5</sup> He paid for Nonsuch Great Park with 900 debentures from the men of his own regiment. Included among them were two of his own bills. The first, for £463.11.10½, was for his service as captain and major of foot in Colonel Barclay's regiment in the earl of Essex's army. The second, for £954.15.0. was for service as lieutenant colonel in Colonel Harley's regiment, and as colonel of his own regiment.

Colonel Valentine Walton, who was originally from Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire, had been the governor of the garrison of Lynn during

1 CP25(2)/617, Michaelmas 1657

2 See Chapter VI

3 E121/4/8/100. The DNB erroneously states that Pride got "Nonsuch Park and House". In fact he got the Great Park alone. Major General Lambert got Nonsuch House, as well as the Little Park. (C54/3816/39)

4 C54/3941/22

5 DNB

the 1640's.<sup>1</sup> Captain Robert Blackborne bought the manor of Crowland, Lincolnshire on his behalf in 1650 for £3,160.0.8.<sup>2</sup> The bulk of the purchase money consisted of two of Walton's debentures for £1,580.0.2 and £552.5.10. for his service as captain of foot in Essex's army and as colonel of foot and captain of horse in Manchester's army. In 1652 Blackborne again acted on his behalf to buy the manor of Somersham in Huntingdonshire for £19,885.14.0.<sup>3</sup> 751 bills were submitted, mostly from Major General Lambert's and Colonel Constable's foot regiments. There was only a scattering of bills from Walton's own regiment and none from Walton himself. Colonel William Siddenham, the governor of Malcombe Regis and Plymouth submitted a bill for £2,278.8.3½ but does not seem to have shared in the purchase. When Somersham was returned to the queen as part of her jointure at the restoration Walton was mentioned as the sole possessor at that time.<sup>4</sup> Mathew Alured, esquire, of Walkington, Yorkshire, bought two estates in his native country. Both purchases were made in 1650; the manor of Patrington for £1,272.2.6½ and the manor of Burstall Garth for £2,136.19.10.<sup>5</sup> Alured was one of the three republican colonels who in the autumn of 1654 circulated a petition in the army attacking the Instrument of Government. For this action all three men were cashiered the following year.<sup>6</sup> The attack on Alured did not extend to his property, however, for at the restoration he was still in possession of Burstall Garth.<sup>7</sup>

After Valentine Walton the individual soldier who made the largest purchase was Thomas Flampin, gentleman, of London, whose rank is unknown.

1 Reg. Hist. vol. i, pp. xxiv, 8

2 E121/3/3/46

3 E121/2/10/49

4 CJ viii, 73

5 E121/5/5/6, 16

6 Firth, Cromwell's Army, 367

7 Crest 6/1/6

He bought the honor of Penrith, the forest of Inglewood and Baronwood Park in Cumberland, and Troutbeck Park and Tolls in Kendal, Westmorland for £16,653.9.0<sup>1</sup>. The Cambridge list of original creditors states that the purchase was made on behalf of Colonel Hacker's regiment in Leicestershire.<sup>2</sup> However, except for two parcels, one of which he sold to an officer unconnected with Hacker's regiment, and another to a Cumberland gentleman, for a total of £1,350, Plampin seems to have kept the property entirely to himself.<sup>3</sup> Captain Richard Sankey of Tuttlestreet, Middlesex was involved in a number of substantial purchases of which he seems to have kept two. The first was Castlehay Park, Staffordshire which cost £7,697.13.0. and which he shared with William Combey. Sankey used only one of his own debentures worth £450.13.4, which had accrued to him for his service as lieutenant and captain of horse under Colonel Fleetwood.<sup>4</sup> The other major property was the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire, which Sankey bought jointly with Thomas Wagstaff, a captain in Colonel Ashenhurst's regiment. The manor cost £9,159.15.6. and the debentures which Sankey himself submitted enable us to trace his pre-new model service. He evidently began as a cornet and then a lieutenant in Captain Kirle's and Captain Fleming's troops in the earl of Essex's army. Later he was lieutenant to Captain Le Hunt in Fleetwood's regiment in the earl of Manchester's army. The Cambridge list of original creditors states that the property was bought by these two men for Colonel Saunders's regiment, but there is no record of their conveying any part of it to members of this regiment.<sup>5</sup> Richard Watson of Bristol, a

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1 Dd13/20/88/354

2 Dd8/30/4/14

3 C54/3763/1; C54/3827/27

4 E121/4/6/8. The Cambridge list of original creditors states that the property was rated and conveyed to William Combey, Joseph Hawksworth "and the regiment" (Colonel Saunders's?); but this is belied by the Chancery enrolment which states that the property was conveyed to Sankey and Combey. (C54/3556/15)

5 E121/5/1/14; Dd8/30/4/9

captain in Colonel Scroop's horse regiment, bought the manor of Caldecott in Monmouthshire for £2,374.1.10½.<sup>1</sup> Just before the end of the interregnum he and Captain William Peverell bought Oatlands Park, Surrey for £8,209.3.6. Although the conveyance was not enrolled until 18 May 1659, they may well have taken up possession before that date since they are both described in the enrolment as already "of Oatlands".<sup>2</sup> There are several other instances of sales of crown land which were initiated at the beginning of the 1650's but, for one reason or another, were not completed until nearly the end of the decade. Oatlands House went to another man, Robert Turbridge, esquire, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex. His military rank is unknown, but the certificates of sale describe him as an original creditor. The house cost £4,933.18.0.<sup>3</sup> Turbridge also acquired messuages and lands in Chelveston cum Caldecott, Northamptonshire, using assigned bills, for £1,119.16.8.<sup>4</sup> From all indications Turbridge was an obscure man, but he was not the only obscure soldier who made a substantial purchase and kept it. William Browne (or Broome) of London, gentleman, a soldier of unknown rank, acquired Richmond Little Park, Surrey, a very choice property, for £7,884.18.11½.<sup>5</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Richard Bonnett of Taunton, esquire, who served in his county's regiment under Colonel Pyne, bought the manor of Milton Falconbridge for £7,151.8.2.<sup>6</sup> William Wood, the muster master general to the northern army, bought a third of Havering Park, Essex, for £4,158.14.3½.<sup>7</sup> Captain Thomas Ireton, the brother of the commissary general, bought a parcel of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £3,435.12.0. He also bought the manor of

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1 E121/3/5/47

2 C54/4031/14

3 E121/4/8/29

4 E121/4/1/38

5 E121/4/8/5

6 E121/4/5/67

7 E121/2/5/37

Ireton, Derbyshire for £278.11.10.<sup>1</sup> Arthur Evelin, a Berkshire gentleman who was the major of Thomas Harrison's regiment and then adjutant general of horse for the new model, and finally governor of Wallingford Castle, bought the priory of Alvicote in Warwickshire and Staffordshire for £3,023.1.8.<sup>2</sup>

A man whose fame is greater because his papers were bequeathed to posterity, was Robert Bennett of Lawhitton, Cornwall, a colonel of foot in his own county. He bought the two manors of Tintagel and Helston, Cornwall for £1,647.11.11½ + 3/7, using his own debenture of £1,610.12.0 towards the purchase price. The debenture contained a rather full account of his military career. He had evidently begun as a captain of foot in Sir John Banfield's and Sir Samuel Roll's regiments. Later he was captain and colonel of foot in Devon, treasurer and commissary of musters in Major General Massey's brigade, colonel of foot in Cornwall, and captain of foot in the garrison of the Mount and Dennis Fort in Cornwall.<sup>3</sup> Bennett made one other purchase in Cornwall - the honor of Launceston, for which he paid £1,376.5.9.<sup>4</sup>

As we shall see in Chapter V, many officers bought land by participating in a regimental purchase. Indeed, those officers who acted independently of their regiments usually had a specific reason for doing so. Henry Ireton's officers, for example, found that their regiment had been dispersed before the crown lands went on sale. Ireton's had been one of the regiments selected by lot to go to Ireland. However, four of its six troops joined the men of Seroop's regiment in the mutiny at Burford in May 1 , and these troops were subsequently broken up and disbanded.

1 Sir James Berry and S.G. Lee, A Cromwellian Major eneral (Oxford, 1938), p. 22n; E121/5/3/24; E121/2/1/10

2 CSPD 1651, 100; E121/5/7/16

3 E121/1/6/17

4 E121/1/6/45

It was for this reason that Major Henry Pretty switched to Oliver Cromwell's regiment.<sup>1</sup> Captain Robert Kirkby did not go to Ireland at all. It is unclear whether Major Robert Gibbon, the third officer who purchased land, ever got there, but in 1650 he was acting as an agent for crown land, and in 1651 he was mentioned in the Kent Quarter Sessions Books as a JP of the county.<sup>2</sup> An ancestor of the historian,<sup>3</sup> he bought the high court of the liberty of the dissolved monastery of St Augustine for 914.7.5 $\frac{1}{4}$ . and the manors of East Peckham, Datehurst, Penshurst and East Farleigh, all in Kent, for £1,777.13.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>4</sup> Henry Pretty employed his brother Oliver as an agent to buy Long Hopshill Lodge in the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £3,174.8.0.<sup>5</sup> He and Captain Kirkby also employed his brother's services to purchase Aggardsley Park, Staffordshire for £3,228.1.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>6</sup>

It has been remarked how many of these individual officers who made substantial purchases of crown land were men of small renown in the history of their time. Their more illustrious colleagues apparently had other more tempting fish to fry, for, as we shall see, a remarkable number of the highest officers in the new model army were not involved in any way in the purchase of crown lands.

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1 Reg. Hist., i, 121, 124

2 E121/2/11/5; Kent County Record Office, Q/SB 11, 139 (1651)

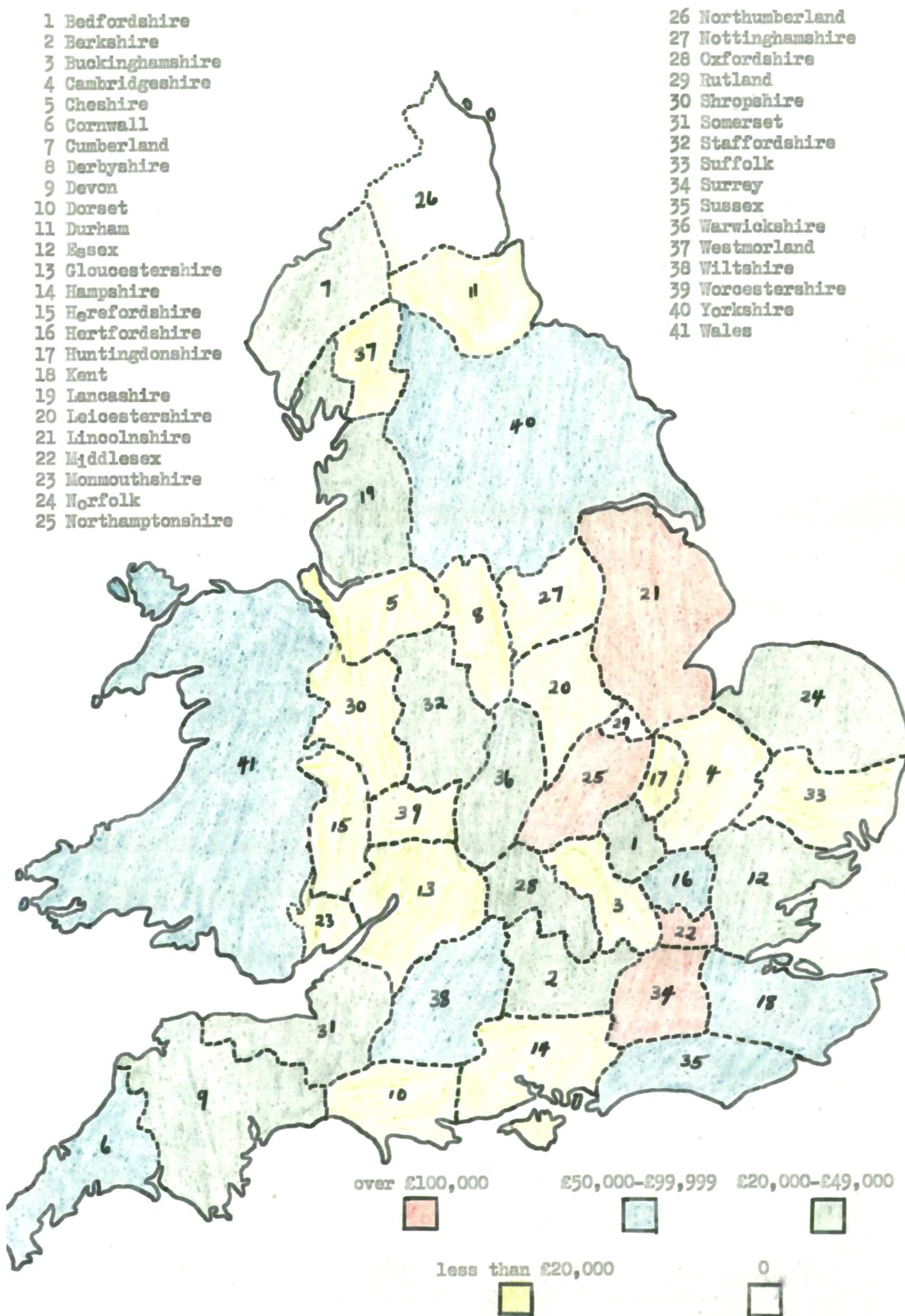
3 sub Edward Gibbon

4 E121/2/11/51, 17

5 E121/5/3/32

6 In 1654 Pretty petitioned to get back the first moiety that he had paid for Aggardsley, claiming that the purchase could not be made good. However, the obstructions were removed, and Pretty took possession of the park in 1655. (E121/4/6/16; CSPD 1654, 414; Dd13/20/155/641)

The Location of the Crown Lands by Value in 1649





## CHAPTER V

The Sales of Crown Land (ii)

Close to half the army's purchases were made by means of regimental contracts. A complicated procedure was elaborated whereby these contracts were organised and carried out. The first step was for the men of a regiment to sign a letter of attorney nominating one or more of their officers to negotiate for crown land on their behalf. Most letters of attorney were signed early in 1650, usually several months before the surveys were completed and the contracts could be initiated. Many of these letters are preserved in the Public Record Office. Some of them carry the names of several hundred soldiers and are up to 5 or 6 feet in length. The power of attorney is given in words similar or identical to the following:

Now know ye, that we, whose Names are under-written, do hereby nominate...[A.B.] our true and lawfull Attorney... for our severall distinct uses and benefits, according to the severall proportions of our severall Debenters, or Bills, to contract and bargain with the Contractors nominated in the said Act of Parliament for that purpose...for so much of the said Honours, Mannors, or Lands, and at such Rates as to our said Attorney shall seem meet...which said Contract...we do hereby Declare, promise, and agree shall be to all intents and purposes, as effectuell in the Law, to Binde us, and every one of us thereunto, as if we and every one of us, had been or should be personally present, and had or should have contracted in our own proper persons for the same respectively;...And further also we do by these presents earnestly desire, and likewise do give full power and authoritie to our said Attorney, to take the respective conveyances which are to be made upon the contract or contracts aforesaid by the Trustees...in his own name and his Heirs and Assignes forever. And we do hereby desire the said Trustees...to make and passe the said respective conveyances unto him our said Attorney, his Heirs, and Assignes forever accordingly, in trust neverthelesse to be by him our said Attorney employed and disposed for or towards our respective satisfaction, according to our respective shares and proportions due unto us upon our severall Debentors. Signed...

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1 SP28/142/1, fo. 1. These are the words used in Adam Baynes's letters of attorney, which were printed. The letters used by most other attorneys were hand written.

Below this paragraph are the names of the men of the regiment arranged in columns according to the troop or company, with the officers' names at the top. Most of the officers sign their own names, but among the rank and file a great many simply make their mark. On the whole more than half the soldiers sign with a cross or some other mark, with the cavalry showing a rather higher rate of literacy than the foot.<sup>1</sup> A curious feature of some of these documents is the number of names written in the same hand, obviously the work of a scribe, yet without the distinctive mark of the particular soldier whose name has been written in.<sup>2</sup> It is curious to discover so careless a practice in a business so serious as the empowering of one man to act on the behalf of others with their debentures. Nevertheless, every soldier, whether he signed his own name, made his mark, or had his name filled in by a scribe, also had a seal beside his name. Many seals used the same emblems, which were usually simple: a ball, a crescent with a star, a trident, a fish, an anchor - are some of the most common. Some seals bore coats of arms, but contrary to what might be expected, they were by no means confined to officers; nor were simple emblems found only among the rank and file. Colonel John Desborow, for example, sealed his name with a simple sparrow on a twig,<sup>3</sup> while many of his troopers flaunted quite elaborate coats of arms. It is unlikely that any of these seals can be taken as reliable indications of the social status of parliamentary soldiers.

What were the advantages of the regimental contract over other forms of purchase? In the first place, the device of the letter of attorney

1 This finding conflicts with H.N. Brailsford's statement that "only one man in five was illiterate" in the new model army. Brailsford seems to have confused the literacy rate of the agitators with that of the army as a whole. (The Levellers and the English Revolution (1961), pp. 147-8)

2 e.g. SP28/142/3, fo. 54

3 SP2 /142/3, fo. 57

enabled large numbers of debentures to be brought together and concentrated on a single property. The danger that men in the same regiment might compete against one another for a property was thereby reduced, and the average soldier's debenture was too small to purchase a property on his own, so that if he was disinclined to sell his debenture at a low price on the open market his best course was to club together with his fellows to make a group purchase. Moreover, it was better to purchase a large estate than a small one, since the large estates tended to be copiously stocked with timber which could be turned into ready cash. Perhaps the most important consideration in favour of the regimental purchase by means of a power of attorney was that it enabled the purchase to be made during the original creditors' ten day preemption period, and hence eliminated competition from civilians. It will be remembered that anyone, whether soldier or civilian, who bought soldiers' bills, could not submit them towards a purchase of crown land during the original creditors' preemption period. However, the letter of attorney made it possible for an officer to secure his men's authorisation to make a purchase on their behalf, and then to buy out their interest in the estate upon completion of the conveyance. Since every man who submitted a debenture participated in the purchase it could be made during the original creditors' ten day preemption period. In such cases the men merely sold their debentures after a purchase was completed rather than before. The advantage to the men in such an arrangement was that they were in a stronger position to bargain with the buyers of their debentures when these debentures were tangibly represented by a specific piece of property. Thus, to give an example, the men of Lambert's regiment strongly held out for 12 shillings in the pound for their bills which had been used to purchase Nonsuch Little Park and House. They were doing so when Adam Baynes was paying 5s. for debentures in the open market.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Add. 21422/127. See also Appendix I

Thus one can view the letters of a torney as legal fictions which permitted officers to make purchases of land without suffering the inconvenience of civilian competition either for their men's bills or for the land itself. Yet this is not the interpretation that one derives from some of the writers who have commented upon the regimental purchases of crown land. C.H. Firth, in Cromwell's Army, stated that in some instances "particular estates were set aside for the payment of particular regiments or brigades", and gave as an example the manor of Hemel Hempsted and several other royal manors that were "set apart" for Colonel Whalley's regiment.<sup>1</sup> It is somewhat misleading to talk of any of the crown lands as having been "set apart" for a particular regiment. Hemel Hempsted was bid for by the officers of Whalley's regiment, but there is no reason why it might not have gone to some other group of bidders. It also leaves the wrong impression to imply that the regiment participated in the actual ownership of the properties that were bought in its name. We know from the close rolls that the moiety of the manor of Hemel Hempsted was transferred to Captain William Evanston in 1654, and that the other properties were divided up among Whalley's other officers: Major Robert Swallow, Major John Grov, Captain Thomas Chamberlain, Captain Daniel Dale, Lieutenant Chillenden and Lieutenant Joseph Sabberton. We also know from evidence at the restoration, that Colonel Whalley himself acquired one of the largest properties, the manor of Terrington, Norfolk, and also the manor of East Alton. The junior officers and rank and file evidently received none of the roughly £30,000 in crown lands that were acquired in their names.<sup>2</sup>

Except for this reference to the purchases made by Whalley's regiment, however, Firth tended to agree that the regimental purchases

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1 . 203

2 C54/3731/33. See Appendix III

were most often a legal fiction. He recognised that the buying of debentures by officers for use during the ten day preemption period was widespread despite the parliamentary order against it. While failing to distinguish between the downright illegal purchase of debentures before the conveyance of a property had been sealed, and the permissible purchase of a regiment's interest in a property already conveyed, Firth accurately appreciated the effects which these practices had:

Naturally these proceedings caused deep dissatisfaction amongst the soldiers. They had suffered great hardships and privations for the want of their pay, and now they saw themselves practically defrauded of the greater part of their arrears. At the same time they saw their officers growing rich by taking advantage of their necessities. Hence the officers lost their influence over their men.<sup>1</sup>

Firth discerned the reality behind the regimental purchases.

The antiquarian Madge on the other hand seems completely to have mistaken the shape of the forest in his effort to catalogue every one of its trees. Thus he took immeasurable pains to classify the crown lands in any number of ways - for example, according to whether they were manors, lands, houses, parks, woodlands, warrens or "miscellaneous" - ways which often seem to have no demonstrable significance.<sup>2</sup> At the same time he accepted without questioning or even discussion the notations in the Cambridge lists of contracts to the effect that certain properties were bought "on behalf of" certain regiments. Nor did he consider resale of crown land, and how they might alter our conception of who benefited from the dispersal of the crown lands. Taking Madge at his face value, one might easily conclude that those properties acquired by regiments (about 500,000 worth) were owned collectively by the members of these regiments. The inference is that the officers named in the conveyance are merely the administrators

1 Crown List Army, 205

2 The Domesday of Crown Lands, 255

of the property, responsible for receiving the income from it and dividing it up among several hundred soldiers according to the value of one's stake in it.

The same interpretation of the regimental purchases is implicit in Sir James Berry and Stephen Lee's biography of Colonel James Berry.

In many cases whole manors or other estates were set aside for the payment of particular brigades, regiments, or other smaller bodies of troops.<sup>1</sup>

Christopher Hill, in his essay "The Agrarian Legislation of the Revolution", was influenced by Berry and Lee's interpretation of the purchase of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire, as a collective transaction by Colonel Philip Twisleton's regiment. Unfortunately he also stated that the major and 5 other officers bought all the rest of the men out some two and a half years later.<sup>2</sup> Professor Habakkuk has recently shown that 13 officers actually partook of the division of Spalding and that a total of 21 of Twisleton's officers benefited from all the regiment's purchases of crown land.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the present writer cannot agree with Professor Habakkuk's interpretation that the transactions were "a genuinely collective purchase".<sup>4</sup> Much of course depends on the meaning one chooses to attach to this phrase. One fact is clear: that in the end only 21 officers in a regiment of 600 got crown land. The point of contention is over the significance of the fact that 3 or 4 years elapsed between the time of the first conveyance by the trustees for crown land and the time of the agreement to divide the properties among the 21 officers of the regiment. Until the division in May 1655, Professor Habakkuk suggests, the income from the estates must have been received by the regimental trustees

1 A Cromwellian Major General. The career of Colonel James Berry (Oxford, 1938), p. 95

2 Puritanism and Revolution (1958), p. 177

3 "The Parliamentary Army and the Crown Lands", English History Review, vol. 3 (1967), pp. 407-9, 412

4 ib., 411

and distributed through the troop commanders to the whole regiment. It is difficult to see why one should not rather accept the simpler interpretation that the agreement to divide the properties came into force as soon as they were conveyed by the crown trustees and that the enrolments of May 1655 merely represent the ratification of an already existing state of affairs. This simpler procedure was the one that was followed in many other regimental purchases where the transfers of property made by the regimental trustees were often said to have been done "in performance of the trust reposed in them".

Let two examples suffice for the present argument. On 2 August 1651 Captain George Joyce submitted 231 debentures towards the purchase price of £3,200 for Carisbrooke Park in the Isle of Wight. The park was sold to William Menheir and rated for Joyce, and, according to the Cambridge list of contracts by original creditors, it was bought on behalf of Portsmouth and Southampton garrison. However, the papers of Colonel William Siddenham, governor of the Isle of Wight, show that there was never any intention that the park should be owned collectively by the two garrisons. On 22 August the men whose debentures had been used towards the purchase signed a deed of conveyance relinquishing the park to Colonel Siddenham. In return they were to receive nine shillings in the pound for their debentures. The money due to them was evidently all paid by the end of 1651 and early the next year Joyce conveyed Carisbrooke Park to Siddenham.<sup>1</sup>

On 10 February 1652 Captain Griffith Lloyd of Fleetwood's regiment paid in the debenture for the second moiety of the purchase money for the manor of Stock, Oxfordshire and Methwold Warren, Norfolk. The certificate of sale stated that the two properties, worth £17,894.19.9,

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1 E121/2 7/83; Dd8/30 4/16; Add. 29,319/127, 99; CP25(2)/594, Hilary 1651-2. See illustration 11

were being sold to Lloyd on behalf of Colonel Fleetwood and the officers and soldiers of his regiment.<sup>1</sup> Again, the purchase had the appearance of a collective transaction. An entry in the close rolls for 16 April 1652 shows that the reality was different however. The soldiers of the regiment had indeed nominated Lloyd their attorney to purchase land with their debentures, and the above-mentioned property was conveyed to him and 3 other officers in pursuance of this arrangement. But, "whereas the said Charles Fleetwood sithence hath with his owne proper mony fully satisfied and contented all his Souldiers... [with] a Greate and valuable sume of mony", the 4 officers therefore granted the manor of Woodstock to Fleetwood for 5 shillings.<sup>2</sup>

There can be little doubt that Siddenham and Fleetwood had intended to purchase their respective properties from the beginning, and that everyone in their regiments understood this. It seems reasonable to argue that the same was true of the purchases made on behalf of the 21 officers of Twisleton's regiment. The delays of 3 years and more after the initial conveyances can probably be explained by the exceptional difficulty experienced by the regiment in stating its accounts and obtaining the full certification of its arrears.<sup>3</sup> It will be noted that on the very day the last conveyance was made - 23 May 1655 - the regimental trustees proceeded to divide up the properties.<sup>4</sup> It is quite possible that the 21 officers identified in the close rolls as the beneficiaries of this division had been enjoying the income from their shares all along.

But there are more general reasons why the notion of corporate ownership is not a realistic one. The certificates of sale show that

1 E121/5/7/12

2 C54/3703/45. Methwold arren, which was not mentioned in this enrolment, was worth only £680. (Dd13/20/114/456)

3 Habakkuk, op. cit., 406

4 ib., 407



the debentures submitted were often not from the regiment that was supposed to be buying the property. In the case of Twisleton's regimental purchases the number of debentures from other regiments was small, but they included Colonel Pride's regiment, Sir Thomas Fairfax's lifeguard, Sir Thomas Fairfax's horse regiment, General Lambert's foot regiment and Colonel Desborow's horse regiment.<sup>1</sup> In Fleetwood's regimental purchase there were bills from soldiers in Colonel Scroop's regiment, from Captain Cowland organ of Major General Langhorne's regiment, and from Colonel Edward Cooke of Major General Massey's brigade. Captain Cowland's bill was for £1,165.14.0, and Colonel Cooke's was for £3,047.9.4, yet from what we know neither of them participated in the ownership of Woodstock.<sup>2</sup> Our point is illustrated most decisively by Colonel Rich's regimental purchase of Nether Combe Farm, Kent, and the manor of Kingsland, Herefordshire. The property was sold to "Captain French for Colonel Rich his regiment."<sup>3</sup> The first moiety of the purchase money consisted of Captain French's bill for £1,478. The second moiety was made up of 8 bills from several different regiments, none of them Colonel Rich's.<sup>4</sup> Yet the fact that French later conveyed Nether Combe Farm to Azariah Husbands, the major of Rich's regiment, might have led one to suppose that the transaction entered into by Captain French was part of the "genuine collective purchases" made by the men of Rich's regiment. A survey of the lists of original creditors who submitted debentures is enough to dispel this idea.

If the lists of debentures did not exist one would still have to question the notion of corporate regimental ownership on the grounds of practicality. It would have required a considerable administrative effort to

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1 E121/3/3/113; E121/3/3/93; E121/4/2/\_; E121/4/7/104; E121/5/7/38

2 E121/5/7/12

3 Dd8/30/4/2

4 E121/5 7/4

divide up a perpetual income from land among a temporary body of 600 or 1,000 men. The personnel of every regiment was changing continually. Could men go on sharing in the ownership of a regimental property after they had returned to their homes, or would they receive a cash settlement? If the latter is true, then a powerful incentive would have existed in favour of resignation from the army. How was an income to be divided up among a regiment, half of which might be stationed in Ireland, as was Sir Hardress Waller's for example, or each of whose companies might be dispersed to different parts of England, Scotland and Wales? Finally, one must keep in mind that corporate regimental ownership was not an arrangement which would have found much favour among either officers or rank and file. We scarcely need the testimony of Colonel Siddenham to convince us that the rank and file did not want land instead of their arrears. "They are poor," he told parliament in 1657, "and if you assign lands to them, they must sell again".<sup>1</sup> In brief, the rank and file wanted cash, many of their officers wanted land, and a system of regimental ownership would have satisfied the desires of neither.

It has been argued that one of the functions of the regimental contract was to avoid civilian competition, both for debentures and for land. How much competition was there among soldiers themselves for the crown estates? There is strong evidence of a concerted effort by some army officers to circumvent the rules laid down by the parliamentary trustees to ensure that a competitive price was paid for the crown lands. In the Baynes Correspondence there are two undated drafts of secret agreements for regulating competition among soldiers. One of them was printed by the Society of Antiquaries and by Madge.<sup>2</sup> The other is reproduced here.

1 The Parliamentary Diary of Thomas Burton ii, 240, quoted in Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution, 177

2 Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries iv (1859), 42-4; Madge, op. cit., 216-19

Ay for an agreement amongst Contractors or Attorneys in purchasing of The Kings lands etc. soe as to prevent competitorshipp

In primis, That all may Ingage leyntly to move for further security til all Arreares be satisfied In case the present security should not out to satisfy all that doeth soe Ingag as well such as shall be satisfied, as those that shall not be satisfied before the security be spent.

2<sup>ly</sup>: That one man may be appoynted to keepe a booke for the uses following, and have a sallary from every purchaser for the same.

3<sup>ly</sup>: That this agreement shall be writ in the said booke.

4<sup>ly</sup>: That all men that shall purchase for themselves or others (that shall Joyne in this agreement) shall ingage himselfe to performe the Contents thereof by subscribing the said agreement soe writ in the said booke or otherwise as you shall thinke fit.

5<sup>ly</sup>: That noe man soe agreeing shall desire an order for a particuler (nor any for him) of the Contractors appoynted for sale of the said lands, before he enter his name in the said booke as purchaser of such a mannor, parke or parcell of lands as he shall soe desire a particuler of.

6<sup>ly</sup>: That he that first entereth his name in the said booke shall purchase or Contract for the lands he entreth himselfe to be purchaser of.

7<sup>ly</sup>: All others whoe shall goe to the said booke to enter their names for the said lands soe put in for as aforesaid before the day of treaty shall onely enter their names as Compettitors to him that first put in for it but shall not moove the Contractors for a particuler or doe anything to preiudice him that first put in for it.

8<sup>ly</sup>: That he that first entred his name and that shall goe on to Contract as aforesaid shall enter bond to the maior general or whome you shall thinke fit to stand to his lot for the said lands he shall soe Contract for with those whoe have soe entered themselves as his Compettitors before the day of Treaty.

lastly, The said lotts shall be drawne or cast before the maior general or whome you shall thinke fit and he on whome the lott falls shall have the purchase, paying him that did soe Contract what money he shall have disbursed for or about the same.

And If this shall not proove Practicable or thought Convenient It is further humbly offered;

That the said Lotts may be drawne or C st as aforesaid the day before the day of Contract and he on whome the lott falleth shall Contract for the said lands himselfe, and he whoe desired the particuler shall give him the best assistance he can for that purpose.

The existence of a draft agreement is no proof that such a plan was ever realised however. We do not know the identity of the man who was to be appointed the secretary to this ring and to receive a salary. It may have been Adam Bayn, but he only acted on behalf of northern regiments and had little to do with the rest of the army. The possibility that the proposed agreement was confined to northern regiments is suggested by references to "the major general" (italics added), who can only have been Lambert. If the agreement ever did come into force there is no evidence that the secretary performed his major function, to take out particulars of all the surveys as they came in. None of the names of those requesting particulars recurs more than a few times in the contractors' minute books.

Nevertheless, it is Madge's contention that the officers were able to organise themselves effectively to prevent competition. From his study of 3 counties he concluded that competition was ruled out in 75% of the sales and in the remaining instances competitive action disappeared before the date of the sale, leaving only 5% of the cases where competitive prices appear to have prevailed.<sup>1</sup> Madge's figures are open to criticism. It would be more helpful to know the value rather than the number of the sales in which there was competition. It is not unreasonable to suspect that the 5% of cases where there was competition were some of the most important purchases, that they represented the most lucrative and desirable estates, generously endowed with timber. The trustees' journal shows that while there was competition in only about two dozen sales, these two dozen included several of the most expensive properties. Among them were Windsor Great Park (£22,75), Grafton and Potters Pury Park (£18,228.6.2) and the manor of Woodstock (£17,214.19.9). Of the £1,310,610 worth of crown lands for which competition was possible,<sup>2</sup> £152,229 worth or 12% were sold by the box. It is interesting

1 Madge, 214

2 Obviously, no competition was possible for the properties bought by immediate tenants, which amounted to £114,275. (Madge, 252)

that all competitive purchases were made by soldiers. Civilians were evidently able to avoid competition entirely. Thus, while Madge was correct in asserting that the soldiers tried to ensure that there was only one bidder for each property, it is clear that they were not as successful as was previously thought.<sup>1</sup> The northern regiments, by funneling all their business through the office of Adam Baynes, may have been able to avoid the harmful effects of competition, although there is no reference to such attempts in any of Baynes's letters. In other regiments and garrisons combinations must have been more difficult to achieve. In Chancery Proceedings there is a dispute between Colonel Robert Duckenfield and Rice Vaughan, a lawyer and the London agent for the supernumeraries of Northals. The dispute, which took place in 1652, was over the manor of Denbigh, a property valued at £1,263.<sup>2</sup> Duckenfield asserted that he and his men had appointed Captain Philip Eyton their attorney to contract for crown land. Eyton had procured an order from the council of officers giving him liberty to contract for the manor of Denbigh. Before Eyton could complete the purchase Rice Vaughan or some other agent of Colonel Carter "out of malice and evil will" laboured to enhance the price of the manor, with the result that Eyton had to pay 2 or 3 years purchase more for the land than could otherwise have been necessary.<sup>3</sup> The case illustrates that although the council of officers may have striven to exercise some control over the bargaining for crown lands, their attempts were liable to break down when a valuable property was at stake.

We have examined the mechanics of the regimental contract, and seen that the men to whom land was initially conveyed were not always the true

1 E315/314/29, 32, 33, 89, 91, 94, 160; Madge, 214. There were several more properties ordered for sale by the box where the sales do not seem to have been completed. They were Bewbush and Shelby Parks, Sussex, Tookley Park, Staffordshire, and the manor of Orplesdon, Surrey, and the bailiwick of the hundred of Godley, Surrey. (E315/314/33, 91)

2 E320/xx18

3 C5/414/87

purchasers. To obtain an accurate picture of who benefited from these sales it has been necessary to study the resales which took place. Even when this is done one can never be completely sure of knowing if the man named in the enrolment of the indenture is the true purchaser of the land. For example, a study of the resales leaves one with the impression that Grafton and Potters Pury Park, Northamptonshire, which had been bought by Major Dalston Shafto and Captain Richard Connelly from the crown trustees for £18,228.6.2. was later acquired by two lawyers, John Goodwin and William LeHunt.<sup>1</sup> But fortuitously there was a dispute over this property, and from documents in Chancery Proceedings one learns that Goodwin and LeHunt were in fact only holding the park in trust for Lord Viscount William Monson who was in Ireland at that time.<sup>2</sup> Had it not been for his dispute with Major Shafto, Lord Monson's interest in the park would probably not have come to light, and there are doubtless other crown properties where the true ownership has not come to light. Nevertheless, it seems likely that in most resales the man named in the indenture as the purchaser was the true purchaser. Exceptions probably only occurred in unusual circumstances, as when the true purchaser was out of the country and found it expedient to appoint a trustee to look after his estate.

There are other obstacles to a comprehensive study of the resales of crown lands. The transactions could be and were enrolled in a variety of places. Most important were the Chancery close rolls, favoured because of their great prestige and the security which they offered. By law all sales of the crown trustees were enrolled there, and the overwhelming majority of resales found their way there as well. This is fortunate for the modern student in a number of ways. In the first place his work is facilitated by the existence of reliable contemporary indexes of both grantors and grantees.<sup>3</sup>

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1 C54/3635/13

2 C5/19/88

3 For the index of grantors, see PRO, Palmer's Indexes 14820-21.

The information on the enrolments themselves is very full. They contain the date of the enrolment, the names of the grantors and grantees, as well as their social status and the town or city from which they came. In the majority of cases they also give the price at which the land was exchanged. The bulk of the space on every enrolment is taken up with a detailed description of the nature, size and location of the property being sold. In many cases the description is, like the request for particulars, a condensation of the information contained in the original parliamentary survey.

It has been possible to make a comparison between the original and the resale prices where the property being resold was identical to the property bought from the crown trustees, and where the resale price was quoted. In the 61 cases where such an exact comparison was possible it was found that the resale price averaged 74% of the original price, with a consistently high correlation between the two sets of figures.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Colonel George Gill, Major John Browne and John Lilburne paid £5,647.17.0. for Theobalds House which had previously been bought from the crown trustees for £10,579.15.4.<sup>2</sup> Major General Lambert sold the herbage of Sheriff Hutton Park, Yorkshire, which he had purchased with his own debenture for £1,668.9.4½. to Alexander Halsall and Marmaduke Heath for £1,000.<sup>3</sup> Thus the discounts suffered by soldiers when they sold their debentures are reflected in the discounts in land prices, after allowance has been made for compensation to middlemen. From this angle the land market may be viewed as an extension of the debentures market or as the debentures market in another form.

1 The correlation was 0.838 with a 0.000 probability that it occurred by chance. The correlation study was carried out at the University of London's computer centre in Gordon Square.

2 C54/3692/26; Dd13/20/92/371

3 E121/5/5/18; C54/3625/32

Frequently the close rolls do not quote an exact price at which a piece of property was exchanged, but state that the indenture was made for 5s. "and in performance of the trust reposed" in the grantor, or "for good considerations him [the grantor] moving". Interesting variation in this wording is found in the indenture between the regimental trustees of Colonel Whalley's regiment, and John Parker of Hackney and Quartermaster John Addis. The west division of Havering Park, Essex was conveyed to these two under several trusts made and "Lotts drawne betweene the said parties..." However, the fact that they had been "nominated and appointed" by Thomas Chamberlain is a sure indication that he was the real purchaser and that they were only his trustees.<sup>1</sup> Where a price is not quoted in the close rolls we may assume that the transaction represents the transference of a property to the man on whose behalf it had been purchased from the crown trustees, rather than an actual sale between two parties previously unconnected.

The next major source of information about resales is the feet of fines of the court of Common Pleas.<sup>2</sup> The feet of fines, according to C.A.F. Meekings's definition, were fictitious suits in the court of Common Pleas used as a means of securing a conveyance.<sup>3</sup> The plaintiff was the purchaser of the property and the deforciant was the seller. A helpful feature of the fines is that they almost always include the names of the wives of the parties to the transactions. This information is sometimes valuable in solving problems of identification. The description of the property is much more compressed than in the close rolls. We are told simply how many messuages, tenements, gardens, orchards, etc. are being

1 C54 3745/2. I am indebted to Professor Habakkuk for explaining this point.

2 PRO, CP25(2)

3 C.A.F. Meekings, ed., Abstracts of Surveys Feet of Fines, 1509-1558, Surrey Record Society xix (1946), p.v.



sold and how many acres of arable, meadow, pasture, woodland, etc. A serious drawback to the feet of fines as they concern this study is that the "considerations" cited as being paid by the plaintiff to the deforciant almost certainly did not represent the price that was actually paid. According to Meekings the "consideration" was calculated as 20 times the maximum sworn annual value of the land.<sup>1</sup> But for the resale of crown land no such rule of thumb was found to apply. Frequently the consideration quoted was about a tenth of the original purchase price. Thus Captain Joyce conveyed Carisbrooke Park, Hampshire, which had originally cost £3,200, for £320.<sup>2</sup> John Raynor bought a moiety of the manor of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire for £2,032.5.7½. and sold it for £200.<sup>3</sup> In other cases the "consideration" was definitely less than one tenth of the original price of the land but it is unclear how it was arrived at.

Several instances were found of fines which duplicate enrolments on the close rolls. It seems very curious that the same transaction should be recorded in two places, but there can be no other explanation for an example like John Warr's sale of the moiety of the manor of Englishcombe, Somerset to Peter Murford, the governor of Southampton garrison. It was recorded in both the close rolls for December 1651 and the feet of fines for Hilary 1652. It is impossible that different moieties were involved because Warr had only one to sell.<sup>4</sup> Major William Rainborow's sale of Higham Park to John Backwell, and Azariah Husbands's sale of parcels in East Greenwich to Captain James Fortrye were likewise duplicated.<sup>5</sup> Why it was occasionally felt necessary to enrol the same indenture in two of the most reputable courts in the land remains an unsolved puzzle.

1 ib., xciii

2 E121/2/7/83; CP25(2)/594, Hilary 1651-2

3 E121/2/9/25; CP25(2)/552, Trinity 1651

4 C54/3677/37; CP25(2)/592, Hilary 1651-2

5 C54/3791/9; CP25(2)/582, Trinity 1654; C54/3996/11; CP25(2)/564, Trinity 1658

There were other places besides the close rolls and feet of fines where indentures could be enrolled. About a dozen minor sales of crown land were found in the recovery rolls of Common Pleas.<sup>1</sup> The docket rolls to the coroner's rolls of King's Bench<sup>2</sup> were checked but no transactions were found. A survey of the docket book of the court of Exchequer of Pleas for 1628 to 1654 also yielded nothing. The docket book of Exchequer Equity is in such bad condition that the attempt to decipher it had to be abandoned. Even if it had been possible to check the enrolments in Exchequer Equity one could not claim to have discovered all transfers of crown land during the interregnum. There must have been transfers that were never enrolled anywhere, although it is doubtful whether they can have been very large. While admitting these gaps in our knowledge and the limitations of some of the documents, the present writer is nevertheless persuaded that they are not so formidable as to forbid valid conclusions about the resale of crown land.

First, some attention must be given to the men who were most active in these transactions. We have already provided some account of Adam Baynes in Chapter IV. The next important figure was John Warr. During the civil war he had been chaplain to Colonel Edward Prichard's foot regiment in the garrison of Cardiff. Evidently a garrison chaplaincy could not contain all his ambition, for as soon as it was convenient he took up residence in Westminster and went into business as an agent for crown lands. Not much is known about his background. He must have been either a Welshman or a west country-man. He served in a Welsh garrison, and was the attorney for a Welsh regiment - Colonel Philip Jones's - in their purchase of crown land.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, most of his purchases were concentrated in Dorset,

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1 PRO, CP43

2 PRO, KB27

3 SP28/142/3, fo. 72

Devon and Somers t, and in the end he seems to have settled at Yetminster, Dorset.<sup>1</sup>

There are only two occasions, both in 1649, when Warr is known to have published his opinions. In The Priviledges of the People<sup>2</sup> he argued that kings had always tried to mystify the people and promote their ignorance in order to conceal from them the fact that their different interests could never be reconciled. The privileges of parliaments likewise posed a grave threat to the people's interests. Using many classical quotations he argued that the people were above all rulers and that nothing must be permitted to hinder their supremacy. In The Corruption and Deficiency of Lawes of England<sup>3</sup> Warr again expressed radical democratic views. Making generous use of the myth of the Norman Yoke, he charged that the conquerors had centralized justice, introduced slavish tenures and translated the laws into the Norman tongue. He also denounced the extortions of parasitic lawyers and declared that the function of the law was to curb the rulers not the ruled. Warr considered that reason was "the measure of all just laws", and in both pamphlets he wrote with the unmistakable accent of the rationalist. His republican egalitarianism was Roman rather than Hebrew, and his allusions classical rather than sacred. It is significant that in the 17 pages of The Corruption and Deficiency of the Lawes the only quotation from Scripture should be from that collection of prudential maxims, the book of Proverbs.

John Warr made extensive purchases of crown land, both on his own behalf and on behalf of others. He must therefore at the same time have been a large buyer of debentures. But there is no record of his buying

1 After 1654 there are several references to "John Warr of Yetminster, Dorset, esquire", in the close rolls. e.g. C54/3857/42

2 BM, E541/12

3 Guildhall Library, Pamphlet no. 6377

debentures for speculative purposes or for sale to third parties. His primary interest was land, and he was never mentioned in connection with fraudulent debentures. He does however seem to have dabbled in bills of exchange. In 1651 the treasurers at war issued him a warrant for £500 on a bill of exchange from Colonel Heane. In 1652 they issued further warrants for payments of bills of exchange which Warr had purchased from James Powell, a purveyor to the army in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Warr was involved in 31 purchases of crown land worth £52,734. In many purchases he acted simply as the agent, with the land being conveyed directly to the true buyer. Thus he purchased the manor of Newenden, Kent, worth £108, and a tenement near Scotland Yard, Westminster worth £320, for Hugh Peters the Independent preacher.<sup>2</sup> He was the attorney for Captains Edward Sexby and George Joyce in their purchase of the manor of Portland for £479.2.7.<sup>3</sup> He was the attorney for Colonel James Heane, Major Richard Fincher and Captain Ralph Farr of Plymouth garrison in their purchase of the manor of Fordington, Dorset for £5,900.0.3. and various lands and tenements in Hermitage parish, Dorset for £1,351.13.8.<sup>4</sup> Colonel Philip Jones and five of his officers commissioned Warr to buy the manor of Towy, Monmouthshire for £2,411.5.10½.<sup>5</sup> Warr made a second purchase on behalf of these men, of some tenements and lands in Pembrokeshire and manors in Carmarthenshire for £2,237.19.8.<sup>6</sup> There was trouble with the second purchase however, as a Carmarthen inhabitant successfully claimed one of the manor houses for a rent of 20s. a year, and the city of London likewise claimed the tenements in Pembrokeshire under a fee farm rent.

1 CSPD 1651, 586; CSPD 1651-2, 597, 598

2 E121/2/11/40; E121/3/4/125

3 E121/2/3/32

4 E121/2/3/44, 43

5 E121/3/5/32

6 E121/5/6/51

All the profits had to be returned and the regiment was merely given back their debentures, which, as arr pointed out in a petition to the protector, were useless "unless your Highness gives relief."<sup>1</sup> The protector turned the petition over to 6 members of the council of state for their consideration and in June 1658 they brought down their recommendation. It w that the regiment should be permitted to have its debentures considered as cash for the purposes of doubling upon fee farm rents which Warr was to discover.<sup>2</sup>

Warr w s an attorney and one of the four men for whom Beckerings Park, Bedfordshire was rated for £8,311.1.0. However, he seems to have had no direct interest in the park, as it was soon turned over to Thomas Noell, the London alderman, to be divided up among John Crooke and others.<sup>3</sup> Warr also purchased the manor of Stoke under Hamdon, Somerset along with Robert Thorpe (the forger), Captain William Stiles of Lambert's foot regiment and Ar hur Ottway, a brewer from Islington, Middlesex.<sup>4</sup> The transaction, which came to £5,109.13.4, is something of a puzzle. There is no apparent connection between the four purchasers, the debentures that were submitted were from many different regiments, and there is no record of any subsequent transfer or division of the property. It is possible that there were transactions that went unrecorded. Many of the other properties that were rated for arr were bought on behalf of local gentry. The manor of Englishcombe, Somerset, which cost £1,601.12.10. was sold, half to colonel Peter Murford, governor of Southampton garrison, and half to Francis Fisher of Bathampton and Joseph Rosewell and Thomas Clement of Englishcombe, gentlemen.<sup>5</sup> Warr seems to have kept only a few of his purchases for himself.

1 CSPD 1657-8, 147-8

2 CSPD 1658-9, 54

3 E121/1/1/26; C54/3727/3

4 E121/4/5/94

5 E121/4/5/73; C54/3677/37; C54/3586/38

Part of the manor of Ryme Intrinsica, Dorset, for which he paid 3,540.18.3. was sold off in small parcels to 11 gentlemen and yeomen in Dorset and Somerset.<sup>1</sup> The rest he kept for himself. In Somerset he held on to Englishcombe Farm and a messuage and lands in Martock, together worth £2,808.12.6.<sup>2</sup>

Another man who is important to the history of the resales of crown land is Samuel Chidley, one of the most interesting minor figures of the interregnum. A resident of Bow Lane, he styled himself "citizen and haberdasher" but was sneeringly referred to by his enemies as a mere stockingseller. He was a man of protean interests, a prolific pamphleteer and an indefatigable defender of hopelessly causes. He seems to have inherited many of his characteristics from his mother Katherine. Early in the civil war she had published three pamphlets defending Independency and attacking Presbyterianism.<sup>3</sup> She was also involved in the stocking trade, perhaps in co-operation with her son. In 1651 the treasurers at war paid her £250 for 4,000 pairs of stockings for the army in Ireland, and in January 1652 they paid her £104.3.4. for a further 1,000 pairs.<sup>4</sup>

If one wished to attach a label to Samuel Chidley one might call him a left wing Independent. A believer in infant baptism and original sin, he was clearly not in the same camp as the antinomian separatists, although he was at pains to make clear that he did not hold any brief for the bishops

1 E121/2/3/40. See also Appendix III. In February 1661 John Strode wrote to Sir John Strangways boasting that he had successfully prevented arr from obtaining a lease of Ryme Intrinsica from the crown. (Dorset Record Office, Ilchester MSS D.124). I owe this reference to Mr. J.P. Ferris.

2 E121/4/5/69, 64

3 The Justification of the Independent Churches (1641), BM, E174/7; A New-Yeares-Gift to Mr. Thomas Edwards (1645), BM, E23/13; Good Counsell to the Petitioners for Presbyterian Government (1645), BM, 669f.10/39

4 CSPD 1651-2, 578, 586

either.<sup>1</sup> By 1647 he had evidently thrown in his lot with the Levellers, for he was implicated in December of that year in A Bloody Independent Plot... Prosecuted by the open Malice and Fury of divers, Agitators, Levellers, Anabaptists, Brownists and other Sectaries and London Agents.<sup>2</sup> As a consequence of the plot, according to the anonymous pamphleteer, Samuel Chidley, Thomas Prince and three other men had been committed to gaol by the house of commons on 25 November. Chidley and Prince were sentenced to remain in the Gatehouse during the commons' pleasure "...for a seditious and contemptuous avowing of a former Petition and Paper... stiled An Agreement of the People." They had endeavoured to engage Hugh Peters and William Dell in their plot, with the intention not only to murder the king, but also to take away the nobles' veto, to vest supreme power in the people, and "to levell all Estates." At the end of the pamphlet was a cryptic note: "since these votes [by the commons] the persons are juggled away, and not imprison'd, the Commons know they love the King, etc."

In 1652 and 1656 Chidley published lengthy tirades against altars and images. Although the second pamphlet was printed without a licence, he audaciously delivered copies of it to the door of the house of commons in October 1656. When Colonel Jephson acquainted the house with this fact a resolution was immediately passed calling Chidley to the bar. He acknowledged himself to be the author of the pamphlet and his case was referred to a specially appointed committee of 31 MPs who were also charged "to consider of a way to suppress private Presses and regulating the Press, and suppressing and preventing scandalous Books and Pamphlets."

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1 See A Christian Plea for Christians Baptisme (1643), BM, E104/2; A Christian Plea for Infants Baptism (1644), BM, E32/2; The Separatist's Answer to the Anabaptists' Arguments concerning Baptism (1651), BM, E643/22

2 BM, E419/2

Chidley was committed to the serjeant at arms but a few days later, after humbly petitioning the house, he was discharged. The following May he was again ordered to be taken into custody "as a Delinquent" because he had "served Robert Fenwick Esquir, a Member of Parliament, with a Subpoena out of Chancery."<sup>1</sup>

Chidley's interests were not confined to narrowly theological issues. He campaigned, among other things, for the repeal of the death penalty for theft. In the second of two pamphlets which he wrote on the subject he ruefully emphasized the irony of a government pressing pickpockets to death while it refused to pay its own debts.<sup>2</sup>

In the same month that he published his last pamphlet on hanging for theft Chidley also entered the fray over the burning issue of kingship with an address "To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England". It was a lengthy scriptural exegesis with extravagant fifth monarchist flourishes, proving that kings always came to an untimely end.<sup>3</sup>

Chidley was actively involved during the 1650's in the controversy surrounding public faith bills and soldiers' debentures. In February 1653 he published The Dissembling Scot set forth in his Colours, in which he defended his Leveller activities and his conduct at Worcester House.<sup>4</sup> Evidently the dissembling Scot, a certain David Browne, had charged Chidley with being expelled from his office and lodgings in Worcester House on account of his left wing views and his deceitful dealing. Chidley denied that these were the reasons given by the trustees for firing him but conceded that "there was very many complaints, which is a usual thing with

1 CJ vii, 442, 446, 531

2 A Cry against a Crying Sinne (1657), BM, E903/11. The other pamphlet (BM, E903/10) had no title.

3 To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England (1657), BM, E905/3

4 BM, E652/13



the poorer sort, to murmur against those who have dealings ith them..." According to Chidley his position had been that of "Receiver of all Debenters", but according to another report he had been a mere "Clarke".<sup>1</sup> Whatever his true position, he rejected the charge of dishonesty and attributed his dismissal to his refusal to put the term "in the year of our Lord God" in his conveyances, and his insistence on replacing the term God with Christ. He ended by reflecting that no matter how morally imperfect the soldiers were, they were nevertheless the state's servants, and the state was honour bound to pay off their debentures.

The reference to debentures brings us to an issue in which Chidley sustained a vehement and unflagging interest. Without doubt he had a personal and material motive for seeing them satisfied. He was involved in 16 purchases of crown land and was the assignee (i.e. the purchaser) of debentures worth £242.0.11. Although there is no evidence that he was ever in the army, and there are many suggestions in his pamphlets that he was not a soldier, he nevertheless made many of his purchases as an original creditor. This fact would normally be taken as an indication of military status. Regarding the accusations of fraudulent dealing nothing ever seems to have been proven against him, but a cloud of suspicion hung over him throughout the 1650's. The charges made by David Browne appear to have had wide currency. In August 1652 Chidley was named as one of those informed against for forged debentures.<sup>2</sup> In November of the same year he wrote to the fee farm trustees denying that he had been guilty of fraud in doubling on fee farm rents.<sup>3</sup> In July 1654 he was accused of passing a fraudulent debenture in connection with the purchase of the manor of

1 C5/460/154

2 SP18/24 part 11, fo. 225

3 BM Stowe 184/256

Curry Mallet, Somerset.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that the figure £242,011. is only the tip of the iceberg concerning Chidley's speculation in debentures. This would seem to be a reasonable conclusion, judging by his efforts to obtain better security for debentures and public faith bills. In April 1653 for example, he published A Remonstrance To the Valiant and well deserving Souldier, And the rest of the Creditors of the Common-Vvealth; Concerning The Publique-Faith Souldiers Arrears, And Other Publique Debts of the Nation. Declaring that the crown lands had not been sufficient to satisfy those whose debentures had been secured upon them, he entered into a lengthy denunciation of the Rump for its failure to honour arrears. A primary reason for the Rump's expulsion was

because there was no good settlement, nor a total removal of corrupt Lawyers, and other mercenary self-seekers, out of the House, who were the prime obstructors of the Act for the ascertaining and satisfying of the debts of the Nation and were averse to all discoveries which should be made for the benefit of the Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>

In June 1653 Chidley published An Additional Remonstrance To the Valiant and Wel-deserving Souldier, And the rest of the Creditors of the Common-Wealth... In justification of his campaign for the payment of public debts he alluded to "a considerable number of the good people of England, who have by word, and writing under their hands, desired, and intrusted me, to agitate their business for the obtaining of their just debts, upon the publique account..."<sup>3</sup> He said that it was the Rump's failure to do anything about the public debt that had lost it the goodwill of its chief supporters and brought on its dissolution. To the soldiers he recommended that rather than troubling the council of officers with many

1 C3/457/12

2 BM, E692/5, p. 10

3 BM, E711/7, p. 5

small petitions they should club together to create one huge one. There is some evidence that Chidley himself took on the task of organising such a petition.<sup>1</sup> In December 1653 he came out with yet another Remonstrance to the Creditor of the Commonwealth of England,<sup>2</sup> this time in the form of a broadsheet. He had words of praise for the Irish land act, but condemned the recent act for sale of four royal forests because of its stipulation that bills had to be doubled upon with cash. He also included a kind word for the recently dissolved Barebone's parliament, which he said was a parliament "choyce as silver". It is apparent that Chidley's political sympathies were those of the "honest London householder".<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to pinpoint his social status with precision, but whether he was a haberdasher or merely a stockingseller, he was a man of at least moderate means. He employed servants,<sup>4</sup> he published numerous pamphlets, evidently at his own expense, and he spoke somewhat condescendingly, if compassionately, of the poor. He is an example of the intelligent, crotchety, and very independent-minded supporter upon whom the revolutionary government had to depend during the years after the second civil war.

Although, according to the certificates of sale, Chidley made many of his purchases of crown land "on behalf of divers original creditors", his resales seem to have been mainly to civilians. To Francis Finch, a London clothworker, he sold the manor of Hitchin, Hertfordshire for £1,874.11.11, almost exactly what he had paid for it.<sup>5</sup> To Samuel Richardson, "late Bodisseller of Gravel Lane", London he sold the manor of Carnanton, Cornwall for £1,000, about £55 more than he had paid for it.<sup>6</sup> Unlike most other individuals who sold crown land Chidley never seems to have accepted

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1 Add, 21427/187

2 BM, 669f.17/68

3 cf. James E. Farnell, "The Usurpation of Honest London Householders: Barebone's Parliament", EHR lxxxii (1967), p.44

4 The Dis embling Soot, 7

5 C54/3693/14; E121/2/9/29

6 C54/3580/15; E121/1/6/48

less than what he had previously paid to the crown trustees. He bought the manors of Saunderton St Mary, Ipatone, eston, Turville and Penn in Buckinghamshire for £205.1.8. In four later transactions he sold all these manors to local gentry for a total of over £390.<sup>1</sup> He also purchased several lands and tenements in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £1,752.10.10. He proceeded to divide up the purchase in small parcels among local yeomen and gentry. There are 8 transactions to do with Chidley's property in Greens-Norton, but they account for less than half the total value of the original purchase.<sup>2</sup> Whether he kept the rest for himself is not certain. The properties which he bought in Middlessex do seem to have been meant for himself. He bought two tenements near Charing Cross for £1,110 and several messuages and lands in the parishes of St Giles-in-the-Fields and High Holborn for £3,306.3.4. Except for three messuages which he sold to a lawyer for £80 Chidley seems to have kept both these purchases intact.<sup>3</sup> There were a number of other properties that were "sold" to Chidley by the crown trustees but his role was simply that of agent, the properties being rated for other men. The most important purchase for which Chidley acted as an agent was in the manor of Greens-Norton, where Giles Sumpter, a London merchant, bought lands and tenements worth £8,310.9.8.<sup>4</sup>

Captain Adam Baynes, John Carr and Samuel Chidley were the most active of the agents for crown land. There were scores of others engaged in the same business, but only a few of them could boast more than two

- 1 E121/1/3/33; C54/3652/21; C54/3653/19; C54/3745/18; C54/3733/43
- 2 E121/4/1/57; C54/3634/8; C54/3635/3; C54/3636/21; C54/3669/27, 28; C54/3899/11, 12; C54/3963/30
- 3 E121/3/4/65, 107; CP43/300/18. In a Chancery deposition of 1657 Chidley maintained that he had bought the Charing Cross properties in trust for "divers...widdows and fatherlesse", but there is no proof that he was speaking more than theoretically. (C5/460/154)
- 4 E121/4/1/59

or three transactions. Serjeant Daniel Henchman, a London salter and an agitator from Colonel Hewson's regiment in 1647, was involved in several purchases in Derbyshire and Lancashire on behalf of his regiment, most of which was in Ireland after 1649.<sup>1</sup> He was also one of the purchasers of the manor of Midsomer Norton, Somerset for £3,066.6.8, a property which was later turned over to Captain William Murford of Batheaston.<sup>2</sup> William Combe of Anne Blackfriars, London, a cornet in Major Creed's troop in Colonel Saunders's regiment, was involved with Richard Sankey in extensive purchases in Staffordshire and Warwickshire. In most of the purchases he served as an attorney only, except for the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire, half of which he conveyed to a gentleman called John Turner, and the other half to Richard Graves of Lincoln's Inn and Edward Grange.<sup>3</sup> Captain John Menheir of Clement Danes was involved in a number of purchases mainly in Cornwall. He was the agent for the manor of Tywarnbayle, Cornwall which was rated for William Menheir for £732.9.5½. However, William later transferred it back to him. He was also an agent for Colonel Anthony Rowse and William Rowe in their purchases.<sup>4</sup> He performed the same function for Nathaniel Whettham and John Lob in their purchase of the manors of Tewington and Treverbin Courtney, Cornwall for £2357.4.0½, but immediately after the conveyance was completed they handed the manors over to Menheir.<sup>5</sup> He and Daniel Carter, a Westminster merchant, were rated for the manor of Bialton and Stoke, Cornwall for £4,031.4.11. They later transferred it to John Fathers, a clerk who was a native of Stoke Climsland.<sup>6</sup> Menheir also

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1 See Appendix III

2 E121/4/5/86; C54/3713/14

3 CP25(2)/606, Easter 1654; Trinity 1654

4 E121/16/46. See also Appendix III

5 E121/1/6/34; C54/3555/34

6 E121/1/6/11; C54/3549/35

bought half the toll of tin in the manors of Tywarnbayle and Helaton in Kerriar from Colonel Rowse.<sup>1</sup> Although he was an inhabitant of Clement Danes, Menheir evidently had a close connection with Cornwall. In addition to buying land there he was appointed an assessment commissioner for the county in 1652.<sup>2</sup> When he died in 1657 he entrusted his crown estates as well as some fee farm rents that he had bought, to Rowse, Whettham and two other men to administer for his children.<sup>3</sup>

What pattern of dispersal emerges from this study of the resales of crown land? Many contemporaries on both the right and left charged that the grantees stuffed themselves with the parks and manors of the late king. In a number of instances this was a fair description of what took place. Thomas Pride, as we have seen, acquired Monsuch Great Park. Major General John Lambert got Monsuch Palace and the Little Park, and the manor of Wimbledon, worth together £31,626.<sup>4</sup> Colonel Charles Fleetwood got the manor of Oodstock and Methwold Warren. Colonel John Jones, a prominent Cromwellian and an active member of the council of state, got the lordship of Bromfield and Yale in his own county of Denbighshire, and the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire, worth together £8,070.<sup>5</sup> Colonel Robert Duckenfield, who came from a distinguished Cheshire family and was a critical supporter of the protectorate, acquired Sherholt and New Parks, Staffordshire and the manor of Denbigh in Wales, worth a total of £13,171.<sup>6</sup> Adam Baynes got and kept most of the manor and park of Heldenby.

1 C54/3809/7

2 A and Q 11, 659

3 Somerset House, Wills, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 11 Ruthen 271 (1657), fo. 522

4 C54/3677/29; C54/3816/39

5 C54/3887/37; C54/4026/45

6 C54/3582/10; E121/5/7/68

In many other instances the truth of the accusation against the grantees was less clear cut. Colonel Nathaniel Rich's regiment made substantial purchases in Kent, Surrey and Cheshire worth about £34,000. Although neither Rich nor his major, Asariah Husbands, were mentioned in the initial conveyances, both of them soon acquired important interests in the purchases. Rich, who had submitted the largest debenture in the regiment, for £1,318, got the whole manor of Eltham, Kent, valued at £16,615.13.1½.<sup>1</sup> Though originally from Stondon, Essex, and a militia commissioner for that county in 1659, he nevertheless took up residence at Eltham.<sup>2</sup> He also made a separate purchase of the manor of High Easter, Essex for £2,825.8.6½.<sup>3</sup> Major Husbands, with debentures for £1,084, got parcels in the Maison Dieu Hospital, a naval victualling yard at Dover, a third of Horn Park in Eltham, and the manor of Egham, Surrey, for a total of £3,199.7.3.<sup>4</sup> Captain Thomas French received another part of the Maison Dieu and some lands in Eltham for £2,632.17.7½,<sup>5</sup> while Captain Thomas Babington paid £3,655.12.9/ for parcels in Eltham, the Maison Dieu and the manor of East Greenwich, and some messuages in Chester.<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Edmund Lisle received several parcels of wood ground in Eltham worth 985.1.11;<sup>7</sup> Cornet John Brayman got a third part of Horn Park in Eltham for £2,627.19.10.<sup>8</sup> and Quartermaster Thomas Kidder received most of the Maison Dieu for £4,406.5.9½.<sup>9</sup> James Fortrye, a captain of the trained

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1 E121/2/11/19; C54/3745/28

2 CSPD 1656-7, 130

3 E121/2/5/29

4 C54/3739/2

5 Dd13/20/140/557

6 C54/3740/13

7 Dd13/20/140/573

8 Dd13/20/140/574

9 Dd13/20/140/572

bands of Kent (but not a member of Rich's regiment) bought Wether Combe Farm in the parish of East Greenwich from Azariah Husbands who had previously bought it from Captain French for £1,852.8.0.<sup>1</sup> There were a number of other transactions with the lower officers and local gentry, but the general position of the various officers did not alter materially after the first division.

A similar pattern emerges with the purchases of Colonel Thomas Harrison and his regiment. On his own, Harrison acquired the manor of Tottenham, Middlesex for a total of £6,196.17.7. and the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire for £1,538.4.7.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the regiment purchased Marylebone Park, a property worth £13,215.6.8. and their commander was not mentioned in the initial conveyance.<sup>3</sup> However, it was not long before he gained possession of nearly half the property. At the restoration it was reported that he had been receiving £407.9.10. out of the total yearly income of £891.9.10. from Marylebone Park. Lieutenant Edmund Tapp was in possession of land worth £100 per annum and Captain John Barker and Lieutenant William Gough held land worth £160. In addition William Clarke, the army's secretary, held 60 acres and the Great Lodge, worth £120 per annum., Thomas Symonds, the regiment's surgeon, had 28 acres worth £42, and "Nicholdson, Sutton, and other Souldiers of the Army", held another 28 acres worth £42.<sup>4</sup>

Colonel John Okey, the regicide and Fifth Monarchy man, made large regimental purchases in Bedfordshire. The purchases were much more narrowly

1 C54/3996/11; C54/3644/6

2 E121/3/4/39, 40; E121/4/6/112

3 E121/3/4/127

4 Crest 6/2/225. See also Ann Saunders, "The manor of Tyburn and the Regent's Park, 1086-1965", unpublished PhD thesis, Leicester University (1965), Chapter III, for an interesting description of the fate of Marylebone Park during the interregnum.



dispersed than in the two previous examples. Okey gained half of Brogborough Park, including the great Lodge, as well as most of the honor of Ampthill and the manor of Millbrook. The two properties together were originally worth £13,249.8.1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .<sup>1</sup> The regiment's major, Tobias Bridge, got about a fifth of the park, and part of the honor of Ampthill.<sup>2</sup> Captain John Daberon got a small parcel of Brogborough, with the rest of the property (about a fifth) going to Samuel Hewett, a Hertfordshire gentleman.<sup>3</sup>

A more complex and interesting history is attached to Colonel Mathew Thomlinson's regimental purchases in Cornwall, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire worth £24,237.15.4.<sup>4</sup> Thomlinson obtained Ampthill Great Park in Bedfordshire, worth £7,410.<sup>5</sup> On his own he also acquired rents and assise out of several commons within the manor of Dyndathway, Anglesey for £2,754.3.5.<sup>6</sup> Captain Thomas Johnson got the two Cornish properties, Lodge Park and the manor of Liskeard, worth £4,822.2.8.<sup>7</sup> Lieu enant Walter Erling got the manor of Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire worth £1,426.1.4.<sup>8</sup> Erling augmented this holding with a private purchase of lands in Higham Ferrers for £1,1186 and also of the Great Lodge Park in the forest of Alice Holt, Hampshire, for £1,260.<sup>9</sup> The partition of the last property in the regimental purchase, the house and manor of Theobalds, Hertfordshire, was done in a more interesting fashion. Initially worth

1 C54/3691/30; C54/3692/30, 31; E121/1/1/29, 37

2 C54/3691/31, 32

3 C54/3691/30; C54/3933/9

4 E121/1/1 \_

5 Dd13/20/139/539. The close rolls give £6,139.16.0. (C54/3722/15)

6 E121/5/6/51

7 Dd13/20/92/374, 379. The close rolls give a lower figure for the second conveyance. (C54/3685/1)

8 Dd13/20/92/373. The close rolls give £1,285 (C54/3673/17)

9 E121/4/1/92; E121/2/7/114

£10,579.15.4, it was conveyed outside the regiment to Major George Gill and Captain John Browne, both of Fairfax's regiment, and to John Lilburne. The conveyance was made "in performance of an award made by Humfrey Brookes, Doctor in Phisicke, William Walwyn, gentleman, Heseckiah Haynes, esquire and Francis White, esquire" and for £5,647.17.0.<sup>1</sup> The names of Lilburne and Walwyn in this connection provide interesting evidence of the intimate associations between Levellers and soldiers, associations which seem to have continued despite the mutinies and purges of 1649. The four men who made the award may have been the members of a committee set up by the council of officers to regulate the distribution of crown land and to control disputes arising from these distributions. Haynes had been a captain in Twisleton's regiment and a major in Fleetwood's regiment and was a major general and notable Cromwellian during the 1650's.<sup>2</sup> Francis White was a major in Fairfax's regiment of foot. About Dr Brookes nothing has been discovered. Lilburne soon conveyed his interest in the manor of Thobalds to Browne and Gill who then proceeded to carve it up for distribution among seven men, some of whom, like Browne and Gill, seem to have been officers in Fairfax's regiment. William Pollicott, a glazier, and Richard Croke, a free mason of London, received a large part of the capital message for £2,670.<sup>3</sup> Since they do not appear to have been members of Fairfax's regiment or to have submitted debentures for any other crown estate, it seems safe to classify them as civilians. John Sale received another sizeable share of the property "late in the occupation of Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne" and John Hunt, for £1,100.<sup>4</sup> The remainder was divided among Richard, a gentleman from Chesant who was one of the

1 Dd13/20/ 2/371; C54/3692/26

2 E121/5/7/38; Reg. H1 t. 1, 95, 97

3 C54/3692/22

4 C54/3689/19

parliamentary surveyors for Hertfordshire,<sup>1</sup> John Sparrow and William May, London gentlemen, John Spencer, one of Fairfax's captains, and William Kiffin, the London merchant and antiquarist.<sup>2</sup>

The takeover of Theobalds manor by Fairfax's officers was a logical move since the horse regiment had already acquired Theobalds Park. This immense estate of over 2,500 acres was conveyed to the regimental trustees, Major John Browne, Captain William Parker, Captain William Disher, Captain Richard Merrist, Captain William Covell and Captain John Gladman, for £35,873.11.3. Most of the 1522 bills used towards the purchase were from the regiment but there was also a fair sprinkling from Cromwell's, Ireton's, Scroop's and other regiments.<sup>3</sup> The second moiety of the purchase money was paid in on 12 February, 1652 and the next month the regimental trustees turned the park over to two civilians, Charles Pleydell, a mercer and Thomas Speed, a draper of London, to be divided up among the six trustees and other officers of the regiment.<sup>4</sup> The reason for conveying the property outside the regiment was presumably to avoid the technical difficulty of having the six trustees conveying property already in their possession to themselves. The partition over which Pleydell and Speed presided manifests an almost Byzantine complexity. Major Browne shared 114 acres of pasture and woodground with Thomas Cresswell, who was evidently not a member of the regiment.<sup>5</sup> William Parker, who succeeded Browne as major of the regiment in 1652 and became Fleetwood's deputy during the reign of the major generals, kept a total of 330 acres. 250 acres were conveyed to him

<sup>1</sup> , Augment Office, Parliamentary Survey of Crown Land, E317 Hertfordshire 7

<sup>2</sup> C54/3696/33, 34; C54/3695/33; C54/3689/18

<sup>3</sup> E121/5/7/14

<sup>4</sup> C54/3690/14

<sup>5</sup> C54/3691/7

directly by Playdell and Speed. Another 364 acres were conveyed to him and Captain Gladman jointly, 40 more were conveyed to him, Gladman, Disher and Captain Thomas Malyn.<sup>1</sup> He and Gladman subsequently conveyed 19 acres to John Strange, gentleman of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, who was not evidently a member of the regiment;<sup>2</sup> 24 acres to Captain John Spencer;<sup>3</sup> 24 acres to Samuel Noone, yeoman of Northaw, Hertfordshire;<sup>4</sup> 50 acres to Jonathan and Joseph Prickman, London merchants, for £700;<sup>5</sup> 93 acres to John Simpson, gentleman of London for £854.10.0;<sup>6</sup> and 21 acres to Lieutenant Thomas Empeon.<sup>7</sup> Captain Gladman, the officer sent by Fairfax to investigate the Diggers at St George's Hill in 1649, acquired 72 acres from Thomas Medlicott, gentleman of Cheshunt for £1,200, bringing his share of the park to 104 acres.<sup>8</sup> Medlicott had originally got his 72 acres for £1,160 from Captain Richard Merrist, who had previously got them for Playdell and Speed "for a competent sum".<sup>9</sup> Captain Thomas Malyn, besides his share of the 40 acres noted above, acquired separately another 105.<sup>10</sup> Captain William Covell obtained 416 acres jointly with Lieutenant Robert Southwell.<sup>11</sup> Captain John Spencer obtained, in addition to the 24 acres that were conveyed to him by Packer and Gladman, 19 acres from John Sparrow and William May in three separate transactions for a total of £360. He got another 9 acres from Dr Thomas

- 1 Reg. Hist. 1, 71; C54/3691/20; C54/3690/9; C54/3693/23, 21
- 2 C54/3676/5
- 3 C54/3690/8
- 4 C54/3731/1
- 5 C54/3734/2
- 6 C54/3931/7; C54/3976/47
- 7 CP43/277/3
- 8 Clarke pers 11, 211-12; C54/3986/23
- 9 C54/3816/5; C54/3691/15
- 10 C54/3693/42
- 11 C54/3695/43

Hubert for £160.<sup>1</sup> John Sparrow, of Gestingthorpe, Essex, esquire and William May, of London, gentleman, combined with two London merchants, John Gyfford and Anthony Twyne, to buy Dells Lodge, and 191 acres in Theobalds Park from Pleydell and Speed.<sup>2</sup> Gyfford and Twyne soon sold out their share to the other two for a total of 1,215,<sup>3</sup> Sparrow and May then proceeded to parcel out their holding among various people. As noted above, Captain Spencer got 18 acres; John Hunt of Westminster, esquire, and Roger Humfryes of London, gentleman, got 44 acres for £654,<sup>4</sup> and Dr Thomas Hubbert paid £200 for 8 acres,<sup>5</sup> which, as we have seen, he turned over to Captain Spencer. William Tri of London, gentleman got the Dells Lodge and 113 acres for £1,200,<sup>6</sup> and William Cox, a London merchant, got a small tenement for £80.<sup>7</sup> Sparrow and May, then, sold all their holding in the park, but it is quite unlikely that their role was simply that of civilian trustees, because they made quite a handsome profit on their dealings. Sparrow had a deceased brother, Robert, who had been a captain of horse in the earl of Manchester's regiment and army, and later a major in the garrison of Avingdon.<sup>8</sup> In March 1649 John Sparrow was appointed one of the collectors of prize goods, and in October 1651 he was referred to as Colonel John Sparrow, and appointed one of the commissioners for a court-martial to be held that month.<sup>9</sup> John Alford, the Presbyterian major of

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1 C54/3703/26; C54/3720/32; C54/3734/29; C54/3925/25

2 C54/3691/17

3 C54/3701/7; C54/3720/3

4 C54/3705/2

5 C54/3728/22

6 C54/3733/30

7 C54/3877/1

8 E1 1/2/5/35

9 CSPD 1649-50, 51; C PD 1651, 479

Colonel Rich's regiment, also figures in the transactions connected with Theobalds. Pleydell and Speed conveyed 160 acres to him and Mathew Jumper, a London leatherseller in April 1652.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards Alford and Jumper conveyed this land to Jonathan Prickman and Elias Mauroys, London merchants, again "for a competent sum". At another time Alford, Jumper and Richard Heywood sold William Cox 144 acres for £2,670.<sup>2</sup> How the three men obtained the 144 acres in the first place is unclear, but it may be presumed that Pleydell and Speed were the grantors. In 1659 Cox sold 59 of his 144 acres for £895.18.0. to Major Edmund Rolfe, the man accused of plotting the king's death at Carisbrooke Castle in 1647.<sup>3</sup> Rolfe had previously taken up residence at Theobalds Park, presumably after acquiring several parcels there from Thomas Pubbert in 1656, for which he paid £300.<sup>4</sup> Mathew Jumper and John Gyfford had acquired another 144 acres from Pleydell and Speed in April 1652. They sold it almost immediately to Lymnell Robinson, a lawyer.<sup>5</sup>

So far we have accounted for approximately 2,150 acres of the park's 2,500. What Pleydell and Speed did with the other 350 is not known, but it is known that Major Packer, Captain Spencer, Captain Disher, Captain Gladman, Captain Malyn, Lieutenant Southwell and Lieutenant Empson all took up residence in the park or the manor.<sup>6</sup> Packer evidently lived there in considerable state and became an MP for Hertfordshire in Richard Cromwell's parliament.<sup>7</sup>

It has been shown that the grantees did acquire some of the choicest estates, but that they were by no means the only ones who took advantage

1 C54/3689/40

2 C54/3696/9; C54/3828/3

3 C54/4044/9

4 C54/3922/2

5 C54/3693/22; C54/3696/29

6 This information is derived from the enrolments in the close rolls, where each of these men is said to be either from Enfield, Middlesex or Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. See also Chapter VI

7 Reg. Hist. 1, 71

of the act for sale of crown lands. The fiercest denunciations of the grantees for their accumulation of lucrative confiscated estates were made by Fifth Monarchy men.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is interesting that the same sect could count among their number three of the grantees who had made very choice purchases indeed: Colonels Harrison, Okey and Rich. A further point worth noting is how many of the grantees did not invest in crown land. Oliver Cromwell was given Hampton Court at a cost of £7,838.7.0.<sup>2</sup> but himself never made a purchase. Major General Philip Skippon made a minor purchase in Cornwall,<sup>3</sup> but Lord Thomas Fairfax and Commissary General Henry Ireton bought no crown land at all. Colonel John Desborow only got a small part of Windsor Great Park for £900.<sup>4</sup> While 42 colonels in the parliamentary army obtained crown land, there were many others who sold their debentures for cash. Some of the colonels who did so were John Bright, John Butler, Andrew Carter, Christopher Fleming, Nicholas Kempson, Robert Lilburne, John Punsonby, Edward Cooke, Thomas Mason, John Mauleverer, James Louthaine, Robert Overton, Thomas Saunders, Adrian Seroop, Nicholas Shuttleworth, William Siddenham, Richard Thornton, and Lieutenant Colonel George Twisleton. Each of these men sold bills in excess of £1,000, with Shuttleworth having the highest total, £3,287.12.6.<sup>5</sup> There were other higher officers who did not sell debentures, but did not buy crown land either, because they had their fingers in other pies. Cromwell and Ireton were amply rewarded by the state with both money and delinquent land. Skippon bought extensive royalist properties in Buckinghamshire.<sup>6</sup> ~~Colonel Whalley bought dean and chapter land in Nottinghamshire and was~~

1 See P.G. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy men (1966), p. 71

2 CSPD 1653-4, 408-9; CSPD 1654, 32

3 The manor of Bonyalva was rated to him and John Moyle for £719.8.9. Skippon paid for it with his own debenture. (E121/1/6/9)

4 C54/3636/4

5 E121/4/1/16; E121/4/8/41

6 Joan Thirk, op. cit., 161

~~also rewarded by parliament with the lands of the earl of Newcastle in~~  
 1649. Arthur Haslerig invested heavily in the lands of the bishopric of Durham. Thomas Fairfax may simply have balked at investing in the estates of the king whose execution he had opposed. The other men may have been affected by the consideration that for both political and financial reasons the crown lands were hardly the most prudent form of investment in the 1650's. Consequently, they may have preferred to take cash, even if it meant a great discount on the face value of their debentures.

Although approximately 450 officers and men acquired crown land, only 33 of them got estates worth above £5,000, and of the 33 only 12 got lands worth above £10,000.

Officers Who acquired ore Than £5,000 in crown lands

Name	Properties	Value
Major General John Lambert	The manor of Wimbledon, Surrey Nonsuch Palace and Little Park, Surrey	£31,626
Colonel Valentine Walton	manor of Somersham, Huntingdonshire manor of Crowland, Lincolnshire	23,046
Lieutenant General, Charles Fleetwood <sup>1</sup>	manor and park of Woodstock, Oxfordshire Methwold Warren, Norfolk manors of Methwold and Stoston Socon, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Suffolk	22,908
Captain Adam Baynes	manor and park of Holdenby, Northamptonshire <sup>2</sup>	19,238

- 1 Among the feet of fines there is a fine noting the transfer of the manors of Woodstock, Methwold and Stockton Socon as well as some delinquent properties in Suffolk, from Fleetwood to Peter Ball and Nathaniel Stirrup for £960. (CP25(2)/616, Trinity 1652). Since Fleetwood was stationed in Ireland at this time there is a strong possibility that he was merely conveying these properties in trust and not selling them. I have therefore credited these properties to his name.
- 2 The value for Adam Baynes's holding represents the remainder after the sales to Anne Lilburne, Thomas Oliffe and Henry Harthorne have been deducted from the original purchase price. See Appendix III



Name	Properties	Value
Colonel Nathaniel Rich	manor of Eltham, Kent manor of High Easter, Essex	£19,091
Colonel Robert Duckenfield <sup>1</sup>	Sherholt and New Parks, Staffordshire manor of Denbigh, Denbighshire manor of Brampton, Huntingdonshire manor of Handbridge, Cheshire	16,480
Thomas Plampin	honor of Penrith and forest of Inglewood and Baronwood Park, Cumberland	15,303
Captain Thomas Talbott <sup>2</sup>	manor of Whaplode Abbots and Holbeach, Lincolnshire honor and castle of Tickhill, Yorkshire manor of Cartmel, Lancashire manor of Epworth, Lincolnshire manors of Bewsolas and Fosdike, Lancashire	14,447
Colonel Thomas Harrison	part of Marylebone Park, Middlesex <sup>3</sup> manor of Tottenham, Middlesex manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire	13,774
Colonel Thomas Pride	Nonsuch Great Park, Surrey	11,591
John Umlin	manor of Ingham, Kent Potters Wood, Northamptonshire manor of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire coppices in Lillingstone Dayrell, Buckinghamshire	10,181
Colonel Mathew Thomlinson	Amptill Great Park, Bedfordshire manor of Dyndathway, Anglesey	10,164

1 The manors of Brampton and Handbridge were conveyed to Colonel Duckenfield and Captain Eyton jointly for £6,618.1.6.9½. I have credited Duckenfield with half the value.

2 Cartmel, Epworth and the small parcel of Egham were conveyed to Talbot and two other officers. I have credited Talbot with one third of the value of these properties.

3 Harrison's stake in Marylebone has been estimated on the basis of his share of the annual rent (i.e.,  $\frac{£407.5}{£891.5} \times £13,215 = £6,039$ )

Name	Properties	Value
Chaplain John Warr	Engliscombe Farm, Somerset lands in Martock, Somerset manor of Stoke under Hamdon, Somerset Prince Wood, Dorset demesnes of the manor of Portland, Dorset tenement in Evershot parish, Dorset Parker's lease, Dorset manor of Pevensey, Sussex lands in Snaith, Yorkshire Saverna Hill House, Monmouthshire manor of Northill, Cornwall manor of Langton Herring, Dorset part of the manor of Ryme Intrinsic, Dorset	£ 9,717
Colonel Edward Whalley	part of the manor of Terrington, Norfolk <sup>2</sup> manor of West Walton, Norfolk	9,269
Colonel John Jones	lordship of Bromfield and Yale, Denbighshire manor of Greens-Morton, Northamptonshire	8,070
William Browne (or Broome)	Richmond Little Park, Surrey	7,885
Captain Humphrey Jones	parcel of the honor of Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire Tally manor, Carmarthenshire manor of Penkelly Wallensis and Malvern Llanpithett, Brecknockshire manor of Stradbroke and Stubcroft, Suffolk <sup>3</sup> manors of Grafton and Hartwell, Northamptonshire	7,791

- 1 The manor of Stoke under Hamdon was rated to Warr and 3 others for £5,109.13.4 (E121/4/5/94). Warr sold part of his quarter share to a Weymouth soldier for £567.8.9 (C54/3857/42). He has therefore been credited with £710. Pevensey was rated to Warr and 2 others for £1,492.9.0½. (E121/4/9/95). No division of the property has been discovered. Warr has therefore been credited with a third of the value. Warr sold many parcels of Ryme Intrinsic, but at the restoration he still seems to have been in possession of part of the manor. (Dorset Record Office, Ilchester MSS D.124) He has therefore been credited with half the value of the manor.
- 2 Whalley was said to be in possession of Terrington and West Walton at the restoration. (CJ viii, 73) Terrington was originally divided among Major Robert Swallow, Captain Thomas Chamberlain, Lieutenant Joseph Sabberton and Captain Edmund Chillenden. Chillenden subsequently sold his share to an Essex gentleman for £2,000. I have credited Whalley with Swallow's, Chamberlain's and Sabberton's shares but not with Chillenden's. Terrington was valued at £10,989. (E320/M3). The other four manors, West Walton, Walsoken, Enmeth and Tilney, were valued together at £1,119. I have represented the value of West Walton as one quarter of this, or £280.
- 3 The manor was rated to Jones and 3 other men. (E121/4/7/50), but no subsequent division of the property has been found. Jones has therefore been credited with a quarter of the sale value of £1,929.16.2½. The manor of Grafton and Hartwell was valued at £261. (E320/xx9) and was apparently shared with Rice Vaughan.

Name	Properties	Value
Captain Richard Bonnett	manor of Milton Palsconbridge, Somerset	£ 7,151
Captain Richard teon	Oatlands Park, Surrey <sup>1</sup> manor of Caldecott, Monmouthshire	7,082
Major John Grove	Bestwood Park, Nottinghamshire	6,953
Captain John Raynor	manors of Slaiburn and Hornsey, Yorkshire leaseholds <sup>2</sup> of the manor of Rosedale, Yorkshire <sup>2</sup>	6,720
Colonel John Dove	Priors Pond and Chislehill Divisions of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire <sup>3</sup> two oser islands, royalty of fishing, and royalty of swans in the River Avon, iltshire	6,531
Quartermaster Thomas Kidder	The Maison Dieu Hospital at Dover, Kent the slaughter house near Rochester, Kent woodground in the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire chantry lands in Sussex	6,327
Major John Gorges	honor, manor and borough of Bradninch, Devon <sup>4</sup> manors of Poolmayne and Eastway, Cornwall	6,006
Major Thomas Saunders	honor, manor and borough of Bradninch, Devon <sup>4</sup> manors of Poolmayne and Eastway, Cornwall	6,006
Samuel Chidley	messuages and lands in t Giles-in-the- Fields and High Holborn, Middlesex two tenements near Charing Cross, Middlesex parcel of the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire manor of Thedwarstree, Suffolk	5,982

- 1 Oatlands Park was conveyed to Watson and Captain William Peverell. (C54/4031/14)
- 2 He and two others were rated for leaseholds of the manor of Rosedale, for £2,907.19.11. (E121/5/5 1) Each of them contributed debentures which together made up the whole purchase price. Raynor's share was approximately a seventh of the purchase price, or £415.
- 3 Dove bought the Chislehill division of Clarendon Park jointly with Nicholas Skynner for £2,957.11.5 (E121/5/3 37). Since no subsequent division of the property seems to have taken place Dove has been credited with half the value.
- 4 Gorges bought Bradninch jointly with Saunders for £1,517.11.1. They sold several large parcels to local gentry. Poolmayne and Eastway are also bought jointly by Gorges and Saunders.

Name	Properties	Value
Captain <sup>1</sup> William tyles	part of Bewdley Par , Worcestershire manor of Carwidros, Cardiganshire manor of Llangangell, Cardiganshire part of the manor of toke under Hamdon, Somerset part of the abbey house of Burnham, Buckinghamshire	£ 5,629
Captain Philip Eyton <sup>2</sup>	manor of Brampton, Huntingdonshire lands in the parish of Brampton, Huntingdonshire manor of Handbridge, Cheshire manor of Carnarvon, Carnarvonshire	5,574
Captain John Nelthorp	manor of Barrow, Lincolnshire parcels in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire a lodge in Enfield Chase, Middlesex	5,532
Captain William Braddon  a/	Calstock and Venterdon manors, Cornwall Blith s Farm, Cornwall borough of Lidford, Devon manor of South Teign, Devon honor and manor of Trematon, Cornwall and Devon <sup>3</sup> fishing of Calstock and ater of Tamzr, Cornwall and Devon	5,434
Jeremy Whitworth	parcel of the honor of Clithere, Lancashire rents of the bailiwicks of Blackburnshire, Almonderness and Lynsdale, Lancashire rents, etc. within the wapentake of Salford, Lancashire <sup>4</sup>	5,139
Colonel James Heane <sup>5</sup>	manor of Long Bredy, Dorset manor of Fordington, Dorset lands in Hermitage parish, Dorset	5,140

- 1 tyles shared Bewdley Park with Mathew Cadwell; and toke under Hamdon with 3 other purchasers. (C54/3760/12; E121/4/5/94) He shared the abbey house in Burnham with 5 other people.
- 2 The manors of Brampton and Handbridge were conveyed jointly to Eyton and Colonel Duckenfield. Each one has been credited with half the value. (E121/5/7/43)
- 3 Braddon shared Trematon with Charles Beesowen.
- 4 Whitworth shared this purchase, worth £1,103.9.8, with Colonel Thomas Birch
- 5 Heane bought Fordington jointly with Major Richard Fincher and Captain Ralph Farr for £5,900.0.3 (E121/2/3/44), and the lands in Hermitage parish jointly with Captain Farr and Captain William Harding for £1,351.13.8. (E121/2/3/43) In 1654 he entrusted his share in both these properties to the other two purchasers because he was about to "travell into remote parts". (C54/3729/21, C54/3879/46) He has been credited with one third of the value of each property.

Name	Properties	Value
Captain William Bradford <sup>1</sup>	a parcel of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire leaseholds of the late dissolved monastery of Melsa, Yorkshire honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire moiety of Skyfield Lodge and the Chequer Lands, Wiltshire East Park of Buckholt, Hampshire and Wiltshire	£ 5,061 <sup>2</sup>

What general conclusions can be drawn concerning the sales and resales of crown land during the interregnum? The number of people known to have bought crown land was 973, with the average size of each one's purchase being 1,431. 449 of them have been identified as military purchasers and 524 as civilians. Although civilians outnumbered soldiers, it was the latter who gained possession of the great bulk of the crown estates.

- 1 Bradford shared Skyfield Lodge and the Chequer lands with one other soldier. (C54/3889/9). The honor of Pontefract was conveyed as a trust to be administered on behalf of Bradford and 12 other soldiers. (C54/3901/4)
- 2 There were a few more officers who quite likely got more than £5,000, but for whom it was impossible to attempt an estimate of the value of their lands. Major William Packer, who lived in state at Theobalds was probably one of these but we are not told the value of his 330 acre estate. Capt in John Aubrey almost certainly had over £5,000. Besides some messuages belonging to the castle of Exeter for which he paid £906, he also purchased the manor of Mere, Wiltshire for £8,393.0.7 (E121/2/2/48; E121/5/3/12). Of the latter purchase he sold the profits from the market and fairs kept in the town of Mere to a London upholsterer for £220, several closes and tenements to Colonel Edward Coely, and 87 acres to John Kinge. (C54/3888/5; C54/3744/41; CP25(2), 608, Michaelmas, 1651). The value of Coely's share is unknown but may have been equal to the debenture which he submitted for 1,347.11.4. John Kinge paid £100 according to the feet of fines, but this may represent a value closer to £1,000. James Boeve, merchant, an original creditor, but of unknown rank, acquired Exmore Chase in Somerset and Devon valued at £7,417.14.6. (E121/5/7/109; C54/3714/34). Boeve then conveyed the chase to another London merchant, John Smyth for 10s. "and divers other good causes and considerations" (C54/3760/6). Two years later, "in pursuance of an agreement", Smyth granted to Boeve 7266 acres in Exmore Forest and 978 acres of Exmore Chase for a yearly rent of £130. (C54/3868/2). Two years later again Smyth granted Boeve (blank in original) thousand acres of furze and heath and 1,000 acres of marsh in Exmore and all manner of tithes for £400. (CP25(2)/593, Trinity 1657). Since it is difficult to determine which part of these transactions had to do with the forest (not sold under the act of 16 July 1649) and which had to do with the chase; and since it is also difficult to know which man was holding property in trust for the other, it has not been possible to include either of them in the table.

These 449 soldiers, who represented 1% of the parliamentary army in 1648<sup>1</sup>, were drawn almost entirely from the officer class. 33 of them bought and kept estates valued at more than £5,000, amounting in all to £346,848. Expressing these figures as percentages, we can say that 7% of the military purchasers bought 25% of the crown lands. Thus, while purchasers of crown land were a tiny group within the army as a whole, the group itself did not exhibit a particularly heavy concentration of land in the hands of the top purchasers. Generals and colonels made the largest individual purchases but taken together, the captains bought far more. Cavalry purchasers outnumbered those from the foot, even though they were a minority in the army. In addition, the average size of the cavalry officer's purchase was substantially larger than that of the foot officer. This finding strengthens the view that cavalry officers, who were higher paid, tended to come from a higher social class than foot officers, and were the elite of the army. Less than half of the military purchasers were from the new model army, and they also seem to have bought less than half the land. The other half went to officers of the northern army and local regiments, troops and garrisons,

Rank of Military Purchasers of Crown Land

	number	percentage
general <sup>2</sup>	4	1
colonel	42	9
lieutenant colonel	11	3
major	47	10
captain	155	35
lieutenant	35	8
serjeant	2	0
cornet	14	3
ensign	2	0
corporal	4	1
quartermaster	3	1
trooper or private	5	1
unknown	125	28
total	449	100

- 1 In March 1649 there were 46,873 soldiers on the establishment of the Commonwealth. There cannot have been many fewer in 1648. (CSPD 1649-50, 28)
- 2 This includes the ranks of major general, lieutenant general and commissary general. It does not include the inferior ranks of wagonmaster general, muster-master general, etc., which for the purposes of this table have been classified as captain.

Army or Regiment of Military Purchasers

	number	percentage
new model	203	45
northern	60	13
local or garrison	103	23
unknown	83	19
total	449	100

Type of Regiment of Military Purchasers<sup>2</sup>

	number	percentage
horse	185	41
foot	170	38
unknown	94	21
total	449	100

For most of the parliamentary officers the army must have provided a means of easy and rapid social advancement. While they may not all have been originally butchers and draymen, it is certain that most did not begin with the exalted status that they claimed when purchasing crown land. Of the 449 military purchasers 359 or 80% considered themselves gentlemen of one sort or another. Many of the rest were London citizens who may not have thought the label "esquire" any more prestigious than that of haberdasher or merchant.

Social Status of Military Purchasers

	number	percentage
knight	4	1
esquire	214	48
gentleman	141	31
yeoman	4	1
lawyer	7	2

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- 1 Most of the "unknowns" are probably members of northern or local regiments. A large proportion of the new model officers have been identified by Firth and Davies in the Regimental History.
  - 2 Dragoon regiments have been classified as horse and artillery regiments as foot.

Social Status of Military Purchasers

	number	percentage
merchant	9	2
London tradesman (citizen)	24	5
London tradesman (non-citizen)	6	1
provincial tradesman	5	1
unknown	35	8
<b>total</b>	<b>449</b>	<b>100</b>

Using the soldiers' own estimate of themselves, one finds their social status considerably higher than that of the civilian purchasers. Among the military, "esquires" outnumbered "gentlemen" in the proportion of three to two, whereas there were more than two civilian gentlemen for every esquire.<sup>1</sup> Among the civilians few can have been higher gentry, although this does not necessarily mean that they were declining. A survey was made of 34 civilian gentry in four counties for which there were heralds' visitations in the 1660's; namely, Surrey, Berkshire, Essex and Kent. Only two of the 34 purchasers were found to have had recognised pedigrees.<sup>2</sup>

With reference to the lower classes, people styling themselves "yeoman" were much more in evidence among the civilians than among soldiers. The insignificant size of their purchases - probably not more than £30,000 in all - supports the theory that the yeomanry were not an important class at this time.<sup>3</sup> Very few of the civilians bought more than one property, and the average size of each property was a good deal smaller than those bought

1 See above, Chapter IV

2 They were Thomas Blount, esquire of Writtemarsh and Edward Finch, esquire of Tenterden, Kent. (The Four Visitations of Berkshire, 1532, 1566, 1623, 1665-6, Harleian Society Publications lvi (1907); A Visitation of the County of Essex, 1664-1668, J.J. Howard, ed. (1888); A Visitation of the County of Kent, 1663-1668, Harleian Society Publications liv (1906); A Visitation of the County of Surrey, 1662-1668, Harleian Society Publications lx (1910))

3 cf. Madge, op. cit., 72, for yeoman purchases of episcopal land



by the soldiers. Equally, the fact that most of the civilian gentry were men of no fame and evidently limited wealth, lends support to the thesis that in the landowning class the commonwealth and protectorate drew its chief support from the lesser, parochial gentry. Few, if any of the higher gentry put their monies into crown land.

Civilians tended to buy locally much more than soldiers. Almost half the land they bought was in the same county as the purchaser.<sup>1</sup> The great majority of soldiers bought land in a county different from their own, and not a few made purchases both in their own and other counties. This finding points up the fact that soldiers, in contrast to civilians, got land wherever they could, regarding it more as a cash investment than the foundation or enlargement of an enduring family estate.

Location of Military Purchases

	number	percentage
local	110	25
non local	258	57
both	50	11
unknown	31	7
total	449	100

If the 449 landbuying officers are a fair sample of the army officers as a whole we may conclude that the army drew a major part of its strength from the east and south east of England. Relatively few of the officers came from Wales, the west midlands and the south west, but there was significant strength in the north. Civilian purchasers seem to have been even more heavily concentrated in the south and east of England. This geographic distribution is roughly what one would expect from what is already known about where parliament found its support. What is remarkable

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<sup>1</sup> See Above, Chapter IV

is the large number who came from London and Middlesex. One third of the officers in our sample stated that their home was in or near the metropolis. If we take the new model by itself the proportion is even higher. This is a much larger percentage than would have been suggested by the same area's share of the country's population.<sup>1</sup> Militarily at least, it

Geographic Origins of Military Purchasers<sup>2</sup>

	number	percentage
London and Middlesex	148	33
north	65	15
east midlands	47	11
west midlands and Wales	40	9
south west	36	8
east	29	7
south	30	7
south east	19	4
other	4	1
unknown	31	7
total	449	100

appears that the English Revolution may have been a more strongly urban phenomenon than has been generally thought.

What can one deduce about the political attitudes of the landbuying officers, and the changes they underwent as a result of their newly acquired wealth and prestige? Under the best of circumstances it would be extremely hazardous to attempt to establish a casual relationship between

- 1 It is true that some officers from the provinces took up residence in London after 1648, and occasionally gave London as their address when they purchased land. That this was not a common practice is suggested by the examples of John Lamb rt and Adam Baynes who continued to give their Yorkshire addresses until they took up residence at imbledon and Holdenby respectively.
- 2 The regions are: 1) north: Cumberland, Northumberland, estmorland, Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire; 2) east midlands: Rutland, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire; 3) west midlands: Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshir , Staffordshire; 4) south west: Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Bristol; 5) east: Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire; 6) south: Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Hampshire; 7) south east: Kent, Surrey, Sussex; 8) other: Ireland, Jersey.

politics and the ownership of crown land, but fortunately the evidence for one is so slight as to eliminate the temptation. The 449 soldiers with whom this study deals certainly possessed no unified political outlook before 1650, nor did they gain one after that date. Five at least, Sir Robert Pye, Major John Alford, Captain Nicholas Bragg, Captain Samuel Barry and Lieutenant John Peck, were notable Presbyterians who fled from the army to parliament during the political crisis of April 1647.<sup>1</sup> A number of the officers were regicides, including Lieutenant General Thomas Hammond, Colonel John Okey, Colonel Thomas Harrison and Lieutenant Colonel William Coffe. Some of them, like Colonel Robert Duckenfield and Captain Adam Baynes, were conservatives in social matters,<sup>2</sup> while others, like Edward Sexby<sup>3</sup> and Samuel Chidley, were unquestionably radical and remained so. A number of officers, like Colonel Pride, Lieutenant Colonel Coffe, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Colonel Richard Deane and Colonel James Berry, were steadfastly loyal to Cromwell and the protectorate, and their loyalty might be explicable in terms of their stake in the former crown lands. But a possibly greater number of officers remained republican, and more than a few suffered for their opinions and activities. Colonel Mathew Alured, Lieutenant Henry Hedworth, Lieutenant John Brayman and Cornet Francis Rawson were implicated in Overton's plot of 1654 to raise an army rebellion against the protectorate. They were all cashiered.<sup>4</sup> Other republicans included Captains William Bradford, John Gladman, Henry Pretty and John Barker of Harrison's regiment, of whom the latter resigned his commission during the protectorate.<sup>5</sup> The most remarkable republican

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1 Clarke pers 1, p. xciii; oicester College, Oxford, oicester MS 110, 15 May 1647; Reg. Hist. 1, 107; CSPD 1660-1, 286

2 M. Noble, The Lives of the English regicides (2 vols., 1798), vol. 1, p. 194; H.R. Trevor-Roper, The entry (1953), p. 50

3 Clarke Papers 1, 323; eg. Hist. 1, 66

4 Clarke Papers 1, 79n; eg. Hist. 1, 367, 11, 401, 1, 151

5 eg. Hist. 1, 271-2; C.H. Firth, "Cromwell's Regiments", Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research vi (1927), p. 224; eg. Hist. 1, 194

behaviour came from Cromwell's own regiment (formerly Fairfax's). Major William Packer, despite his recently achieved wealth and status, was the most strident of the officers who opposed the increased powers under the Petition and Advice. Packer, along with Lieutenant Anthony Spinage and Lieutenant Thomas Malyn, all resident in Theobalds Park, were among the six whom Cromwell dismissed in 1658.<sup>1</sup>

In religion a similar diversity of views is discernible. Colonel Edward Whalley was a moderate Presbyterian,<sup>2</sup> Colonel Ralph Harrison<sup>3</sup> and Lieutenant Edmund Chillenden<sup>4</sup> were fairly orthodox Independents, Captain Adam Baynes<sup>5</sup> and Samuel Chidley were rather unorthodox Independents, and Captain Alexander Brayfield was counted an Anabaptist.<sup>6</sup> Several men chose to become Quakers during the 1650's, including Captain William Bradford, Captain George Watkinson and Lieutenant Mathew Foster of Colonel Robert Lilburne's regiment, Captain John Crooke, of Okey's regiment, and (possibly) Colonel Edward Cooke.<sup>7</sup> We have already seen that there were at least three prominent Fifth Monarchy men among the landbuying officers - Okey, Harrison and Rich. Although they were choked with parks and manors the same men did not find themselves incapable of calling the protectorate "anti-Christian and Babilonish".<sup>8</sup>

1 Reg. Hist. 1, 73

2 Richard Baxter, Reliquiae Baxterianae (3 parts, 1696), part 1, 55-6. Baxter is obviously more reliable than Noble, who called Whalley a wild enthusiast. (Lives of the Regicides II, 328)

3 Institute of Historical Research, Corrections to the DNB, sub Thomas Harrison

4 See Preaching without Ordination (1647), BM, E405/10

5 Add. 21419/103-2. This is a letter from Baynes's mother (in-law?) Mary Pease in which she upbraids him for his unorthodox religious views. Baynes apparently believed that direct communication with God was more important than listening to preachers.

6 by Henry Cromwell. Reg. Hist. 1, 626

7 ib., 272, 578, 659; H.G. Tibbutt, "John Crook, 1617-1699: A Bedfordshire Quaker", Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society xxv (1943), p.112

8 quoted in P.C. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men, 71

In the events leading up to the restoration the purchasers of crown lands were to be found on both sides of the conflict. Like most of the army they supported the overthrow of Richard Cromwell, though with the notable exception of William Goffe, but on the issue of supporting General Monck and the restoration they were sharply divided. Captain Robert Swallow of Whalley's regiment and Nicholas Kelke of Fairfax's foot regiment were among those who joined the religious and political radicals in support of Lambert in 1659-60. What is surprising is the number who threw in their lot with Monck. They included Valentine Walton, Sir Robert Pye, Colonel Richard Ingoldsby and his major, Thomas Babington, Major Theophilus Hart of Twisleton's regiment, Major Nathaniel Barton of Seroop's regiment, and Major Tobias Bridge of Okey's regiment. What is even more striking is the fact that four of the men who had bought lands belonging to the martyred king - Richard Ingoldsby,<sup>1</sup> Hugh Bethell, Tobias Bridge and Thomas Morgan<sup>2</sup> - were politically adroit enough to win three knighthoods and a baronetcy from his tolerant son.

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1 I owe this information to Brigadier P. Young

2 Reg. i t. i, 315

Witness these are certain Charters due into us whose names are underwritten in witness of the  
Garrison of Southampton, the whole of for and towards said Charters the said Charles Carisbrooke  
Barke at Carisbrooke Park in the Isle of Wight, is assigned to us jointly, and together with the Officers &  
Soldiers of Carisbrooke and Garrison as tenants for the same. We do bestow the said Charters and lands of the Garrison  
of Southampton due by these presents for and in consideration of New Shilling to be paid by William Sydenham  
Esq. Governor of the Isle of Wight, Grant bargain sell transference assigne and sell over all &  
Portion thereof of all and every of the said lands and interests in the said lands given or any  
part thereof to be had and given for the said into the said William Sydenham his Executors Administrators  
& Assignes. We have and do the said lands into him the said William Sydenham his Executors Administrators  
Assignes for ever, without the said full let notwithstanding or any of us or of  
any lawfully claiming from us or any of us. We do hereby grant and promise to  
the said William Sydenham that we have not nor shall we make over bargain assigne or  
sell or any of the said lands or interests in the said lands or the said Park or any of the said  
ground for the said lands to any other person than to the said William Sydenham, and that we do at the present  
said right fully intend to do the same. And we do hereby import and authorize the said William  
Sydenham his Executors Administrators Assignes to do all lawful acts in the promoting & obtaining of the  
said lands, as fully as if the same were done in our own persons, And further we do hereby consent  
upon the payment of money a bond executed to do and commit any act or acts as shall be by the Council  
of the said William Sydenham advised for the more firm & sure conveyance of the said lands into the said  
William Sydenham his Executors Administrators Assignes. In witness whereof we have  
hereunto set our hands and seals this 22<sup>d</sup> day of August 1651

And Bellingham

Signe of 1647 - 1651

Geo: Burken  
Richard Bellingham  
John I. Morton

Richard Somerset  
John Colos  
Richard Corney

John Somerset  
Jo: Hubbellthorn

The Conveyance of Carisbrooke Park from the Garrison of Southampton  
to Colonel William Sydenham (BM, add. 29,319/127)

## CHAPTER VI

The Stewardship of the Crown Lands, 1650-1660

It has been seen that less than a fifth of the crown lands were purchased outright by civilians.<sup>1</sup> Of the remainder, again only a small proportion were resold to civilians, who in the end may have been in possession of a quarter of the crown lands. How did the civilians use the properties which came into their hands? During the interregnum little was said about them, which is a likely indication that they did not introduce many spectacular changes. At the restoration, when the condition of the crown estates came under the searching scrutiny of Sir Charles Harbord and the county surveyors under him, the behaviour of the soldiers was the subject of severe reprimands, but most of the civilian purchasers escaped without reproach.

Only one instance has been discovered where a civilian purchaser presided over the destruction of a royal manor house. It occurred at Langton Herring, Dorset, where the house was torn down and the materials sold. But Viscount William Monson, the purchaser of the manor, charged that the act of destruction had been performed by William and Alice Biles, who had been in unlawful possession of the house.<sup>2</sup> In most other cases about which information has been found the civilians showed pride in their record as landholders and drew attention to the improvements they had made and the capital expenses they had incurred. Several of them wrote to Sir Charles Harbord rationalizing their cooperation with the "late usurpers" as springing from a desire to preserve the royal estates from waste and depredation. In most cases Harbord accepted their claims without cavil and they were permitted to continue as tenants of the king

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1 See above, Chapter IV

2 C5/411/152

with generous leases. The six men who had bought the manor of Kennington, Surrey from the two initial purchasers, John Trenchard and William Scott, had, as Harbord confirmed, "bin at great Charges in erecting Howses, makeing wharves and other things for the Improvement of the Lands they hould..."<sup>1</sup> Peter Rosewell, who had bought the farm of the manor of Englishcombe Somer et, submitted a claim to have preserved the timber "from all violence and spoyle by parliamentary purchasors and alsoe fully [to have] performed all Covenants on his parte in the same letters pattents." Harbord agreed with Rosewell's claim and recommended to the lord treasurer the earl of Southampton that he be granted a lease on easy terms.<sup>2</sup> Andrew Raddon and David Owen had bought the ditches of the castle of Exeter from Captain John Aubrey in 1655, at which time they noted that the land had lain waste for ten years. They subsequently spent £700, and the ground that had been worth £12 per annum was now worth £30, "and when the plantacions are growne may yeild £50 per annum." Harbord agreed with the accuracy of their claims as well.<sup>3</sup> John Tracy, a London merchant who had bought the Kensington division of Hyde Park, petitioned the crown in September 1660 to be allowed to retain the two houses that he had built on the road at Knightsbridge. He justified his petition with a claim never to have cut down any timber in the park, a claim whic could have been checked without difficulty.<sup>4</sup> The middle, Banqueting and Old lodge divisions of Hyde Park, had been similarly well treated. The purchaser, Anthony Deane, had promptly leased most of them out, and the two lessees had allowed them to continue as they had before, a place where fashionable Londoners resorted for picnics and

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1 Crest 6/2/131

2 Crest 6/2/30 , 303

3 Crest 6/1/45-6

4 Victoria History of the Counties of Englan , Middlesex ii, 237



horseback riding. The only change during the 1650's was the introduction of an admission charge for coaches and horses.<sup>1</sup> The man who had bought part of t John's ood, Middlesex, a certain John Collins, begged the king to give him a 99 year lease of the property. In support of his request he pleaded that as a previous lessee of the property he had been compelled to purchase it from the commissioners for sale of crown lands. He had tried in vain to delay paying the purchase money until he could pay it to his rightful sovereign, but since then he had spent £6,000 in improving the property. In view of the fact that Collins had only paid £1,791.18.0. for the property in the first place there can be little doubt that his claim was exaggerated, but is is impossible to know by how much.<sup>2</sup>

There is a much larger body of evidence, most of it inevitably hostile, concerning the manner in which the parliamentary officers dealt with their holdings of crown land. Many of them of course did nothing but draw the income from their holdings. The majority of the crown manors had already been let out on long leases, and most frequently the soldiers were content to allow the lessees quiet possession in return for regular payment of rent. Other soldiers however were not content to draw a modest income in this fashion, but insisted upon a quicker return. There wer several methods by which ready cash could be obtained. When an estate was rich in woodland the timber could be cut and the deer killed. A park could be "disparked", changed to arable or pasture, and let for a higher rent. A large estate could be subdivided into small holdings, whose total yield would be higher than the original unfragmented rent. A large mansion house or lodge could be stripped of its lead, for which there was always a high demand, or it could be completely dismantled and all the materials -

1 J. Larwood, The tory of the London Parks (1872), pp. 38, 41

2 CSPD 1660-1, 290

stone, glass and wood in particular - carted off and auctioned. That this was expected to happen was clear from the parliamentary surveyors' instructions to assess manor houses not in terms of their yearly value but according to the worth of their materials after the costs of demolition had been deducted. A few surveyors were reluctant to do their valuations in this manner, pointing out that a particular mansion house was "not fitt to be demolished".<sup>1</sup> Most surveyors however did as they were told. Even if the aim was not the rapid exploitation of an estate's capital resources, destruction could occur through negligence. Conditions in the countryside were more chaotic and lawless during the interregnum than at most other times. Absentee landlords (and many of the soldiers came under this heading) suffered from poaching, theft of timber, and other penalties of absenteeism, even more during the 1650's than in normal times.

Before considering the soldiers' motives for engaging in destruction of royal estates it must first be established how much destruction they were actually responsible for. It is known that after the restoration the revenues from crown land shrank to a fraction of their former size.<sup>2</sup> It has been implied that a measure of this shrinkage was due to the depredations which had occurred during the "usurpation". However, the extent of these depredations was frequently exaggerated by men who had good reason for doing so. At the same time soldiers were blamed for destruction which had occurred either before they took over the estates or in 1659/60, when their authority was no longer respected by their tenants. It must also be kept in mind that much of the timber that disappeared from the royal estates was cut not by soldiers but by the navy, for whom it had previously been set aside.

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1 For example, the surveyors of Theobalds House (E317 Hertfordshire 26, fo. 50), and of the Great Lodge in New Park. (E317 Yorkshire 38, fo. 4)

2 .A. Shaw, ed., Calendar of the Treasury Books, 1, p. xli

First, let us deal with the exaggerations and defects in the royalist accusations of the 1660's. The surveyors under Sir Charles Harbord often overestimated the amount of timber or deer that had previously existed on an estate, and misleadingly portrayed the former good condition of manor houses, lodges and other buildings. This is true for example of the seat at Berkhamsted, over which bitter tears were shed in 1660. The surveyors of 1650 had noted in a memorandum that "...the chimneys and some other parts of the aforesaid house is much ruyned and out of repaire and there is no water belonginge or neare to the same, the pipes being outt and carryed away in these troublesome tymes, and the watermill standinge farr of which conveyeth water to the said house is alsoe broken and carryed away." Five tenements which were part of the capital messuage were also said to be out of repair. One of the two watermills was "very much out of repaire."<sup>1</sup> Regarding Moat Park, Berkshire, where the parliamentary purchaser was said to have wantonly killed all the deer, it is interesting to read in the survey of 1649, "...in the said parke there is noe deere...nor hath not bene for severall yeares past,"<sup>2</sup> In 1660 it was reported that there was no timber in the manors of Theobalds, Crossbrookes and Perriers "fit for the use of his Majesty"; yet in the parliamentary surveys for Crossbrookes and Perriers there is no mention or valuation of timber at all, suggesting that there cannot have been very much to begin with.<sup>3</sup> In the survey of Theobalds manor timber is occasionally mentioned, but it is not separately valued, indicating that the quantity was negligible.<sup>4</sup>

The second consideration that must further modify any conception of

- 1 E317 Hertfordshire 7, fos. 4, 5, 6
- 2 E317 Berkshire 39, fo. 3
- 3 E317 Hertfordshire 20, 30
- 4 E317 Hertfordshire 24

soldierly wantonness is that a gr t deal of destruction occurred before the military purchasers assumed possession of their properties. The surveyors of Berkhamsted, for example, noted that the water pipes had been carried off during the civil wars.<sup>1</sup> There are strong indications that some estates had decayed even before the beginning of the civil war. The honor of Kenilworth had been leased by King Charles to the earl of Monmouth for his lifetime, but the earl "hath not laid out anie thing about the repaying of the said Castle since the xxiiiith of July last, and but very litle for many yeares last past."<sup>2</sup> King James had appointed George Armstrong the keeper of several buildings in Theobalds manor, but he "hath not beene diligent in his place, but hath suffered much harme and ruine to be committed."<sup>3</sup>

It is hardly surprising that a great deal of spoil and waste occurred on the royal estates during the 7 years leading up to the execution of the king. The grip of royal authority was shattered in the south and east where most royal estates lay. Yet parliament was too busy with more pressing matters to ensure that the lands which fell to it were prudently administered. In many estates there was a complete breakdown of authority, and conditions of near anarchy must have prevailed. Not till 1649 did parliament begin forcefully asserting its authority, and it is from this period that one catches a glimpse of the havoc that had been wreaked. Poaching had been rife, with soldiers being among the principal offenders.<sup>4</sup> Timber was a much more lucrative commodity than game, and it had been the chief object of people living in or near the royal parks. In October 1649 the council of state sent an order to the mayor and justices of the peace of Sarum,

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1 E317 Hertfordshire 7, fo. 4

2 E317 Warwickshire 22, fo. 9

3 E317 Hertfordshire 24, fo. 4

4 CSPD 1649-50, 300

iltshire, regarding the assaults that had been made upon Clarendon Park with its immense store of timber.

e are informed that there is great waste made of the timber in Clarendon Park, by the poor of Salisbury, which is a very great loss, that timber being so proper for shi ping, and the want of it so great. You are to take order with the poor not to make those wastes and spoils, and find some means for their present employment; and if they shall persist in such spoils, to proceed against and punish them.<sup>1</sup>

The parliamentary surveyors allowed £500 for the timber that had been wasted and spoiled in Clarendon Park.<sup>2</sup> Reports of destruction of timber were also received in connection with Bowood Park, Wiltshire, Bowdley Park, orcestershire, Chertsey, Surrey and Enfield Park, Ml diesex.<sup>3</sup> There was also extensive cutting of timber in the manor of Eltham, Kent, but it was carried out with official approval. Between 1644 and 1648 173 acres of woodland were sold there in four parcels for a total of £602. Five acres were given away "in lew and respect of divers waste and spoyles made therein by the poor people in those parts."<sup>4</sup> The supply of deer at Eltham was also diminished, and in July 1649 Colonel Rich was sent with a troop of horse to put a stop to the poaching. A few months later the parliamentary surveyors reported that the manor house of Eltham was "much out of repaire and soe not tenentable..."<sup>5</sup> It was hardly a choice piece of real estate that the officers of Rich's regiment took over in September of 1650.

Perhaps the most sensational instance of destruction before 1649 occurred at the manor of Epworth in Lincolnshire. In 1653 the original tenants of the manor submitted to the council of state an account of the

1 CSPD 1649-50, 347-8

2 E317 Wiltshire 26, fos. 7, 14, 18, 21

3 E317 Wiltshire 22; CSPD 1649-50, 188, 526; E317 Middlesex 18

4 John Bently, A List of Woods, Underwoods, Timber and Trees felled, and sold out of the King and Queen, Their Majesties Forrest, Chaies, Parks, Manors and Lands: it in the Counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Berks ire and Middlesex... (1648), BM, E460/2. The title is misleading. In fact the 6 page pamphlet deals only with the manor of Eltham.

5 CSPD 1649-50, 221; E317 Kent 18, fo. 2

damages that they had sustained through the turmoil of the past 11 years. In June 1642 John Allen and 16 others had entered the manor in a tumultuous fashion, broken down the fences, put in their own cattle, destroyed 160 acres of corn and other crops, and continued rioting for many days until they had laid waste 4,000 acres of drained lands and pulled down several houses. This vandalism appears to have been an aspect of the popular resistance to the drainage of the fens which had several times erupted into violence during the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> There was renewed destruction in 1647. Finally, in 1651 the petitioners were established in possession of their property by an Exchequer decree, but the local inhabitants, having fallen under the influence of Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne, Major John Wildman, and Dan Noddell, their solicitor, declared that they would not obey any orders of Exchequer or Parliament,

some saying that they could make as good a Parliament themselves, and others that it was a Parliament of clouts, and that if it sent any forces, they would raise forces to resist them; thereupon they proceeded to defacing the church, and within 10 days there was a total demolition of the whole town of Santoft and houses thereabouts, to the number of 82, besides barns, stables, outhouses, and windmills, and the destruction of all the corn and rape on the 3,400 acres, and the damage is estimated at £80,000. [1e]

Eventually it was agreed that in return for 2,000 acres of waste land to be given to Lilburne and Wildman, and 200 to Noddell, the inhabitants should defend the petitioners from all riots and maintain them in possession of the rest of the 7,400 acres which belonged to them. After that was done Lilburne went to the house of the minister, which had been pulled down by the rioters, and put his servants into it to keep possession, and having forced away the minister and congregation, he employed the church as a stable, cowhouse, slaughterhouse and barn.<sup>2</sup> Although this account is

1 See H.C. Darby, The Draining of the Fens (Cambridge, 1940), p. 52 et pas im.

2 C PD 1652-3, 373-5

obviously shot through with hyperbole at many points, it nevertheless provides valuable insight into the kind of local upheavals that were often sparked by the national struggle of the 1640's.

One of the provision of the act for sale of crown land had been that no timber fit for the use of the navy and standing within 15 miles of a navigable river was to be sold. Trees which met this specific tion were marked out before the parliamentary surveys were made, and sometimes their number and value were noted in the surveys themselves. The windfall of royal timber came just in time for the rebuilding of the English navy in preparation for Cromwell's expansionist foreign policy. It is important to remember therefore that a good proportion of the destruction of crown timber about which his Majesty's surveyors were so vocal in 1660, was not the work of soldiers but a consequence of the official policy of the commonwealth and protectorate. Exact figures for the amount of timber reserved for the use of the navy are not known, but it is known that on some large estates virtually all the good timber was reserved in this way. Such was the case in Ampthill, Becketing and Brogborough Parks, Bedfordshire.<sup>1</sup> It was also true of Windsor Great Park, where 2,664 trees were marked for the use of the navy. The rest of the park's woods consisted "...for the most parte [of] old dotterell and decayed trees good for little save the fire."<sup>2</sup> In Theobalds Park there were 15,608 trees marked for the use of the navy, with an estimated value of £9,845.9.5. This was greater than the value of the timber left to the military purchasers, which amounted only to £7,259.13.2.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that the admiralty commissioners caused a good deal of additional waste and spoil on the crown estates when they came to remove timber for the navy. An example of this spoliation is contained in

1 CSPD 1655-6, 82

2 E317 Berkshire 36, fo. 3

3 E317 Hertfordshire 27, fo. 15

a complaint to the admiralty committee from Mr. alter, Major General Harrison's agent in Marylebone Park, "that the men driving carts laden with timber out of Marylebone Park, go over his grass, break down his pales and hedges, and do other damage,"<sup>1</sup> This experience was doubtless repeated on dozens of other former crown estates.

A final source of destruction for which the soldiers cannot be held responsible was the chaos and disorder surrounding the restoration. Whether motivated by a desire for royalist vengeance or by pure opportunism, many people took the return of Charles as the signal for an attack upon the property of the hapless soldiers. Thus, in November 1660, John Nelthorpe, formerly a captain in Twisleton's regiment and the purchaser of a lodge in Enfield Chase, Middlesex, informed Charles Harbord that

the Inhabitants in and about Enfield Chase...have already committed many trespasses and abuses in breakeing and destroyeing the hedges and fences of his Majesties Lands within the said Chase...and doe threaten to committ more trespasses and injuries...pretending to be Countenanced therein by persons of Quality.<sup>2</sup>

Similar tales flowed in from other parts of the country. George Glyn, who had bought tenements in the manor of Boyton, Cornwall, wrote that he and his servants had been expelled from their homes and his cattle driven off the land.<sup>3</sup> In both cases Harbord ordered the vandalism stopped and the parliamentarians permitted to continue in possession of their properties for the time being. In Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire and the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire, the occupants complained that some of the timber remaining there had been seized "by certaine persons pretending an authority from his Majestie..." Again Harbord ordered a stop to the spoil.<sup>4</sup> In Bagshot Park, it was related, "...one Thomas Fry, a person of

1 CSPD 16 1, 509

2 Crest 6/2/123

3 Crest 6/2/177

4 Crest 6/1/228, 33-4



noe credit, hath gotten into possession of his Majesties House...and pretends to cutt downe certaine Trees...which are not to be fallen or meddled withall without speciall arrant from his Majestie..." He was ordered to be removed from the house and custody was returned to Thomas Symond, who had been the tenant under Charles I.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most detailed account of destruction that occurred at the restoration was left by Captain Adam Baynes. In his correspondence there is a paper entitled "A Particular or Estimate of the Loss and Damage which did accrue to Mr. Baynes...in Holdenby...1661." It itemizes the losses of food, deer and fish which were inflicted upon him by his under tenants, to the value of 70. They had also flouted his orders by ploughing up 182 acres of pasture before the last Lady Day. Baynes had lost all the grass that might have grown there at the rate of 2s. an acre, and he had also been "prejudiced in his stock for want thereof." In an appended statement Robert Baynes asserted that the under tenants had trampled on the rest of Baynes's pasture when they went every day to plough their 182 acres. The total damage was said to amount to 112. In addition, the under tenants were withholding their rents to the sum of £198.16.0. "many of them refusing to pay him upon pretence that they did not enjoy their bargaines."<sup>2</sup> If Baynes's experience is at all typical the parliamentary purchasers must have had a trying time of it immediately after the overthrow of the protectorate.

Yet when all these extenuating factors have been taken into account, it remains true that military purchasers wrought great alterations in the crown estates during their period of tenure. Timber was cut down, deer were killed off, palaces were demolished, and parks were enclosed

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1 Great 6/1/58

2 Add. 21427/291-2

and converted to arable or pasture. During the 1660's there were horrified royalist accounts of the sorry decline of certain royal estates from their previous condition of splendour. The surveyor of Hertfordshire, for example, must have expected he recorded the decay into which the once great honor of Berkhamsted had sunk:

In obedience to your Lordships command I have bin at Berkhamsted where I finde a noble Seate and Howse left standing but much worse than I have heeretofore knowne itt. All the west front thereof under the Gallerie being converted to a barne, and other parts of itt decayed by defects in the tyleing and taking away the Lead over the gatehowse and other places and much of the Leaden pipes from the walls, and by haveing the Backhowse and Brewhowse [turned in] to a Stable and the Dairy howse to a barne; The great oulde Barne being quite taken away and gone. And the Water that served the howse by a force [fawcett] from the River, all broken up and a new buckett well, made, soe that I thinke to repaire the Howse, and build a new Barne and a stable will cost 500 li or more, and then itt will want a good smart to keepe it in repaire and releese the poore, wherewith that li the markett Towne abounds. And to governe the people much seduced of late by new doctrines preacht unto them by Collonel Axtell and others that have long prevailed in those partes.

...the Woods are all cutt downe (except about 70 Beech trees and shrubbs) to the value of, as I am tould, of [sic] about 10,000 li and the defacing of the Seate which was very noble and the Impoverishing of the Land now much worne out with Tyllage. And it is now beleevued that Collonel Axtell hath already Raysed his purchase money by good and Corne, and that most of the other purchasers are noe great losers thereby.<sup>1</sup>

Other accounts of destruction are not quite so vivid. In 1661 Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, received a lease of Bowood Park, Wiltshire. The yearly value was put at £321.10.0. and the timber was said to be worth £248. These figures contrast starkly with the 1653 valuation: yearly value £457.11.0. and timber worth £4,512.10.2. The terse explanation for the disparity was that "most of the timber [was] ... destroyed by purchasers under the

late usurped powers."<sup>1</sup> All timber "worthy to bee excepted for his Majesty's use" was also said to have disappeared from the manors of Theobalds, Crossbrookes and Parriars, Hertfordshire,<sup>2</sup> from New Park, Yorkshire,<sup>3</sup> Bestwood Park, Nottinghamshire,<sup>4</sup> Moat Park, Berkshire,<sup>5</sup> the lordship of Kenilworth, Warwickshire,<sup>6</sup> the manor of Shippon, Berkshire,<sup>7</sup> areham Wood in the manor of Stoke Climeland, Cornwall,<sup>8</sup> Grafton and Potterspury Park, Northamptonshire,<sup>9</sup> Clarendon Park, Wiltshire,<sup>10</sup> and Oatlands Park, Surrey.<sup>11</sup> Some ambitious soldiers did more than just cut timber. The men of Fairfax's foot regiment killed the deer and sold the woods in Cheshunt Park and also left the lands "plowed and much worne".<sup>12</sup> The deer also disappeared from New Park, Yorkshire. Robert Lilburne evidently took little care of the park, for the gardens and orchards also decayed, and the hedge was allowed to rot, with the result that "swine did sundry times get into the said gardens and orchards, to the prejudice of the said plants and flowers and herbs."<sup>13</sup> Deer were also killed in Moat Park, Berkshire, where the lands were in part ploughed and subdivided into several enclosures.<sup>14</sup> The purchasers of Old Enfield Park, Middlesex, and the forest of All e Holt, Hampshire, were also said

- 1 Calendar of the Treasury Books vii, part iii, 1531
- 2 Crest 6/2/100
- 3 Crest 6/2/110
- 4 Crest 6/2/108-9
- 5 Crest 6/2/114
- 6 Crest 6/2/337
- 7 Crest 6/2/512
- 8 Crest 6/2/185
- 9 CSPD 1660-1, 295
- 10 VCH Wiltshire iv, 431
- 11 VCH Surrey iii, 478
- 12 Crest 6/2/104-5
- 13 VCH Yorkshire, North Riding ii, 197
- 14 Crest 6/2/114

to have taken the extra step of ploughing the land and wearing it "out of hart".<sup>1</sup>

Faithful to their reputation for iconoclasm, the parliamentary soldiers showed themselves no respecters of famous fabrics. Richmond Palace, Surrey had been in good condition in 1649 but when it was returned to the queen as part of her jointure in 1660 it was "in a dismantled condition, having suffered much dilapidation during the interregnum." In fact it had been pulled down and the stones sold to the value of £1,000. The palace was never rebuilt.<sup>2</sup> The same fate overtook Oatlands Palace, where the surrounding lands were also disparked.<sup>3</sup> Nonsuch Palace was not razed to the ground, but it was allowed to decay. Before the civil war it had been one of the most magnificent royal palaces, having attracted the special praise of both Camden and Fuller: "Indeed, what Sebastianus Cerlius, most skilful in building, spake of the Pantheon at Rome, may be applied to this pile, that it is '*ultimum exemplar architecturae*'".<sup>4</sup> But in 1665 Evelyn spoke of the gardens around the palace as "ruined" and remarked upon the destruction of the trees.<sup>5</sup> Nonsuch was never restored to its former magnificence and was finally sold in 1687, apparently for immediate demolition.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the charges against the military landowners occur before the restoration. In July 1655 the inhabitants of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire accused John Urrin, who had purchased three estates there, of depriving

1 Crest 6/2/106-7

2 VCH Surrey iii, 534

3 Surrey Archaeological Collections xiii (1897), p. 45

4 quoted in T. Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, P.A. Nuttall, ed. (1840), vol. iii, 202

5 VCH Surrey iii, 270

6 J. Dent and M. Biddle, Nonsuch 1960 (Ewell, Surrey, 1960), p. 17

them of their common rights. Richard Dobson stated that Urlin had bade him kill deer in the winter, and Benjamin Coldwell charged Urlin with committing offences in nearby Whittlewood Forest against the vert and venison; "as felling timber, encroaching on the forest, blocking up highways, hunting and destroying deer, etc." As a consequence Urlin was ordered to appear before the council of state "to answer to the said charges of destroying the deer, as embelling riotously, and affronting and abusing the keepers of the forest."<sup>1</sup>

One of the most celebrated acts of destruction occurred in the manor and park of Holdenby, which Adam Baynes had bought in 1650. Even though it was "something out of Repaire", the parliamentary surveyors referred glowingly to that "Noble Mansion House", with its "ffoure magnificent Towers", its "many costly and rare Chymney peices and many other spacious Chambers and ith-drawing rooms to them belonging, itt being alsoe a House of great receipt." The materials of the house were given a value of £6,000, more than one quarter of the whole estate. Timber was valued at £1,010.5.0. The main drawback to Holdenby, as far as Baynes was concerned, was that most of the lands belonging to the manor had been leased in 1647 to Sir Thomas Hatton, and the lease did not expire till 1664.<sup>2</sup> Faced ith a 14 year wait before he could improve the income from his estate, Baynes did what he could to raise immediate cash: "he began at once to pull the house down, sell materials, cut down a great part of the timber (di parked the park): it may be presumed that he killed or sold the deer and wild cattle."<sup>3</sup> However, Baynes did not benefit as much from these acts as he had hoped. He realised only 3,500 from the materials, instead of £6,000 as the parliamentary surveyors had predicted.

1 CSPD 1655, 253, 254

2 E317 Northamptonshire 35, fos. 1-2, 3, 6

3 Northamptonshire Notes and Queries 1 (1886), p. 182

Timber brought him £500, though it is not clear whether he cut down all the trees on the estate.<sup>1</sup> At the restoration a suit was brought against him for his destruction of Holdenby. Besides tearing down the house and cutting the timber, he was charged with having sold the livestock and deer. He denied most of the charges, asserting that the cattle which he slew were wild and that the deer were more numerous at the end than when he first took over the estate. He had, he said, constructed a little park especially for them. Baynes also asserted that he had built "one Barne, two brewing houses and other outhouses and diuers Chimney, a garden all, Court Walls, Barne Doores, partitions and other things."<sup>2</sup> The result of the action against Baynes is not known, but he was allowed to continue receiving the rents from Holdenby. Eventually the queen, whose property it had become, let it to Lord Crofts, and he in turn let it to Baynes for one year for £300. After that Baynes was required to surrender possession to Thomas Temple and quit the estate.<sup>3</sup>

At Theobalds in Hertfordshire, not only was the face of the property changed, but new religious and social ideas are introduced and put into practice. In the sixteenth century the property had been owned by William Cecil who began the construction of a splendid palace. He was spurred on in this enterprise by Elizabeth, who visited him often at Theobalds. A contemporary biographer of Cecil reports that

He greatly delighted in making gardens, fountaines and walkes; which at Theobalds were perfected most costly, bewtyfully, and pleasantly. Where one might walk two myle[s] in the walks, before he came to their ends.<sup>4</sup>

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- 1 Sir Cyles Isham, "Adam Baynes of Leeds and Holdenby", Northamptonshire Past and Present vol. ii, no. 3 (1956), p. 140
  - 2 Add. 21,427/137-8
  - 3 Add. 21,427/293
  - 4 Peck, Desiderata Curiosa i, 26, quoted in VCH Hertfordshire iii, 448

In 1598 John Norden eulogized Theobalds<sup>L</sup> in a similar vein.

A most stately house...To speake of the state and beuty thereof as large as it deserueth, for curious buildings, delightfull walkes, and pleasant conceites within and without, and other things very glorious and ellegant to be seene, would challenge a great portion of this little treatise, and therefore, least I should come short of that due commendation that it deserueth, I leave it as it is indeed a princely seate.<sup>1</sup>

Like Hampton Court, Theobalds had become too magnificent for any person lower than royalty, and so, in 1607 it was surrendered to the crown.<sup>2</sup>

It was maintained in excellent condition until 1649, though in that year the council of state, in a message to the attorney general, referred to "gre t waste and spoil made of the timber in Theobalds' Park, and of the bricks of the wall of the park...such waste being too frequently practised."<sup>3</sup>

The spoil was not mentioned however by the parliamentary surveyors, who outdid themselves in fulsome praise of the royal estate. The timber in the park was valued at £7,259.13.2, in addition to £9,845.9.5, worth which had been marked for the use of the navy. Nor was there any reference to damage to the brick wall, which was 2,745 poles long, and valued at £1,098.<sup>4</sup> The palace itself was in first class shape, and the surveyors paid tribute to the many opulent features - the large marble fountain in the courtyard, the lead covered turrets, the chimney pieces, some of exquisite blue marble, the large collection of paintings, and the "curious workmanship" of the carved timber on every side. Unlike most of the parliamentary surveys, which are neutral in their language, the survey of Theobalds Palace breathes enthusiastic admiration.

1 Speculi Britanniae Pars, A Description of Hartfordshire (reprinted 1903), p. 32

2 VCH Hertfordshire 111, 448

3 CSPD 1649-50, 181

4 E317 Hertfordshire 27, fos. 15, 5

His Majesty's presence chamber was the object of special awe. It was a

verry large spaticious delightfull roome...beinge wainscotted round with carved wainscott of good oake and varnished and coullered of a liver scouller, and richlie gilded with gold, with antick pictures over the same, seeled with a plastered frett seelinge full of gilded pendance hanginge downe, settinge forth the roome with greate splendor, as alsoe with verrie large windowes and severall coates of armes sett in the same opening south on the walke in the great garden, leadinge to the greene gates, goings into the parke walke of a mile longe betweene two rowes of trees: Alsoe a verry faire large chimney peece of black and white marble, with 4 pilasters of the same stone with the Queenes armes in the midst richlie gilt with two brasse colons of the figures of Vulcan and Venus standing before the Jamnes of the Chimney...

The surveyors were reluctant to set a value upon the materials of the palace, and pointedly drew attention to its yearly value of £200, which had been estimated so high

in consideracion that we finde the scite thereof, verrie pleasant, the roomes richlie adorned, and verrie commodious and fitt for present use, the ayre sweete and open: the marketts neere, and the conveniencies and neerenesse of London of noe small advantage, the gardens and orchard richlie planted, and compleatlie ordered, the pleasure of the parke of noe meane delight, beinge a seate of a large prospect, everie wayes usefull to the purchaser.

Credit for the excellent condition of the palace was due to the earl of Salisbury, who had been its keeper since the time of King James.<sup>1</sup>

We have already noted that the park and palace were acquired by the officers of Fairfax's horse regiment.<sup>2</sup> Several of them took up residence there under the leadership of Major William Packer, and Theobalds, "from the seat of a monarch...[became] a little commonwealth; so many entire tenements, like splinters, [having] flown out of the materials thereof."<sup>3</sup> The community found its focus in a radical Bapti t

1 E317 Hertfordshire 26, fos. 3, 6, 49, 51

2 See above, Chapter V

3 Fuller, orthies ii, 38



chapel which scandalized some of the local inhabitants, and proved to be a thorn in the side of the government. Packer and five others were present at a stormy meeting of the council of officers in 158 where Cromwell delivered a tirade against his officers for their unfaithfulness towards him. They replied that Cromwell had left them and not they him. Packer hurled the accusation that Cromwell's voice "was the voice of Jacob but his hands the hands of Esau". In retaliation Cromwell dismissed the six officers from their posts.<sup>1</sup> Packer and his friends also created a good deal of trouble for the Quakers, and threatened to apprehend George Fox if he ever ventured near Theobalds. Fox however regarded the threat as an invitation: "I was moved of the Lord God to go down to Theobalds, and appoint a meeting hard by them"; but his efforts at evangelization seem to have met with indifferent success.<sup>2</sup>

There can be little doubt of the destruction inflicted by the soldiers upon the park and palace at Theobalds. The 30 acres belonging to the palace was divided into many small plots, and the palace itself was then demolished and the materials used to build tenement houses upon the plots. The park was similarly subdivided, enclosed and built upon.<sup>3</sup> Of the occupants, only about six were army officers, with at least two dozen more being civilians. The great brick wall was also completely dismantled and its materials sold. When Anne, countess of Bristol petitioned in 1660 for a lease of the park she urged that the walls and tenements were so much out of repair that it was not likely to be used again for pleasure.<sup>4</sup> The countess of Bristol was to be disappointed however, for it was finally decided to give the property to the duke of

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1 The Correspondence of Colonel Robert Bennett, Folger Shakespeare Library, Add. MS 494 vol. 1, 461; Reg. Hist. 1, 73

2 VCH Hertfordshire iii, 449

3 Crest 6/2/102-3

4 CSPD 1660-1, 289

Albemarle as part of the £7,000 per annum that Charles had promised him. The park was valued by the royal surveyors at £1,749.1 .0/ per annum, which was not far different from the annual value set upon it by the surveyors of 1649. However, nothing extra was assessed for materials, woods and deer, for as Harbord's agent remarked

The said Parke was in the time of his late Majesties Raigne replenished with Wood and Deer, which have been shamefully destroyed by the late Usurped Authority, and much of the Land plowed and sown out of hart...And I find not any Tymber Trees now left upon the premisses worthy to be excepted for his Majesties use.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to Theobalds there are several other instances where evidence can be cited to corroborate the reports of destruction submitted by the royal surveyors in 1660. Kenilworth Park, arwickshire, from which the timber has disappeared entirely by 1660, had 4445 trees and other woods worth £4,111.14.0. in April 1650.<sup>2</sup> New Park, Yorkshire, which had been similarly denuded, had £2,410.8.0. worth in 1649, as well as 270 deer. The great lodge was described as "fairely built" and "not fitt to be demolished, it beinge lately well repayred and made fitt and conveniente for an habitacion..."<sup>3</sup> In Cheshunt Park, Hertfordshire the three lodges had been all in good repair in 1649, and the wood, deer and conies were worth together 1,613.4.8.<sup>4</sup>

That the soldiers caused drastic alterations in the a pearance and use of the crown lands is not to be doubted; that this fact demonstrates reckless or wanton exploitation on their part remains open to argument.

1 Grest 6/2/102

2 E317 arwickshire 22, fos. 4, 7-8

3 E317 Yorkshire 38, fos. 1, 2, 3

4 E317 Hertfordshire 16, fos. 2, 3

It is important to remember that the soldiers' needs were not the same as the king's, and that therefore it was reasonable for them to dismantle and sell things for which they had no use. Only occasionally would there be a soldier who, like John Lambert, desired a royal palace. The historian of imbledon speaks of "the evident gratification which... General Lambert felt in the improvement of the house and grounds." The story of how he retired to imbledon to cultivate his flower gardens after falling out with Cromwell is well known. The result of his care was that he "had the finest tulips and gilliflowers that could be got for love or money..." After the restoration Queen Henrietta Maria sold the estate, not because it had fallen into decay, but because "it smelt so strong of a rebel." The new owner, George Digby, wrote to his son commending it as the noblest seat in England.<sup>1</sup>

Few other soldiers however could afford to maintain an immense royal palace. Accordingly, at Richmond, Oatlands, Berkhamsted, Holdenby, and Theobalds, they tore them down and sold the materials. The fate of these fabrics was parallel to that of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. In both cases the old buildings disappeared because they did not suit the needs of the new purchasers.

The same argument applies to the cutting of timber and killing of deer. A deer park represented an unproductive use of land. While kings might be expected to set aside thousands of acres of land in order to indulge an expensive taste, most private landowners required a more tangible return on their investments. It happened that the 1650's were a propitious time for selling timber and converting parks to arable or pasture. With 207 new vessels being added to the English navy in the

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<sup>1</sup> . . Bartlett, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of imbledon, Surrey (1865), pp. 68, 46, 48

space of 11 years, there was a brisk demand for timber.<sup>1</sup> At the same time agricultural prices were at record heights. In a situation like this the disparking of parks and the turning of manor houses into barns and tables became a sound business proposition. What looked like waste and spoil to shocked cavaliers struck the new purchasers simply as a more rational use of the land.

These alterations in land use sometimes entailed sizable capital investments. Such investments are frequently mentioned in the petitions of soldiers who sought permission at the restoration to continue in possession of their estates. They nearly always claimed to have introduced many improvements at great personal cost. Elizabeth, the widow of Captain Thomas Malyn, begged to become a tenant of 190 acres in Theobalds Park which her husband had purchased, and upon which, she asserted, he had constructed buildings at a cost of £1,000.<sup>2</sup> In 1661 Captain Godfrey Ellis asked for a lease of the castle garden of Gloucester, for which he had originally paid £380.<sup>3</sup> In support of his plea he referred to his expenditure of over 1,200 on several tenements that he had built upon the property. Charles Harbord accepted Ellis's claim without qualification, and recommended a lease carrying a rent of £12.10.0, which was only half the improved value of the property, as well as a very modest entry fine "in respect of your Petitioners charges which seems to have been much more than the premises are worth..."<sup>4</sup> John Barry pleaded for royal consideration regarding Bagshot Park, which he had purchased from his brother, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Barry, and Captain John Peck. Both these men were Presbyterians who had quit the army when Cornet Joyce seized the king, but

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1 . Oppenheim, A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy, 1509-1660 (1896), p. 338

2 C PD 1660-1, 292

3 E121/2/6/42

4 Crest 6/2/509-10

they argued that they had been "obliged" to purchase Bagshot for £4,000 in lieu of their arrears of pay. John claimed that he had sunk £2,000 into improvements in the park. He also had a stake in part of Windsor Great Park, which had belonged to Captain Byfield. Barry had married Byfield's widow and spent over 5,000 in improvements on his portion of the park. He declared that he would be ruined if he were allowed neither the lands nor recompense.<sup>1</sup>

Windsor Great Park was the subject of another petition in 1660 from Captain Edward Scotton, Captain Robert Aldridge, Richard Southwood and John Scotton, who were in possession of part of the park. They declared that they had expended "great somes of mony in improveing the same"; yet that autumn their corn and hay had been seized for his Majesty's use. Accompanying the petition was a "supplication...of the purchasers and possessors", outlining the improvements they had undertaken. They had paid 15 years purchase for the park, and had then subdivided it into about 100 parcels which they had enclosed with hedges and ditches "att the great charge of the said purchasers and possessors." They also demanded consideration for the fact

That the said Parke being of a wet and cold soyle and for the most parte cumberd with bushes, thornes, ferne, rushes, and old trees, (the tymber generally reserved and taken off for the navyes use), for the first fower or five yeares was rather a charge then profitt to the said purchasers. That the said parke hath bene for the most parte grubbed, ploughed and manured with chalke lyme and other husbandry att a very greate charge, which together with ten or twelve newe houses with barnes, stables and other necessaryes for husbandry built thereuppon, some of them of considerable value, hath stood divers of the present purchasers and possessors in more then the said lands first cost them. That the said purchasers and possessors being necessitated to take the premises for satisfacion of publique debts, have managed the same in husbandlike manner, and converted it into farmes, which affordeth a great supply of corne to Windsore market; and

partes adjacent, The pale and covert being taken away rendes it utterly unserviceable for the keeping of deere, nere twenty families settled uppon it, and many of their whole estates involved therein.

The supplication ended with a plea to be allowed to become his Majesty's tenants at a reasonable rent and to enjoy the present year's rent without molestation.<sup>1</sup>

The purchasers of Windsor Little Park made similar claims to have effected improvements during their period of tenure. In 1654, when the council of state entered into negotiations to buy back the park from Captain Henry Cannon and Francis Thomson, these two men declared that

We have not in any way impaired the premises by felling timber, etc., but have been at much charge in fencing, grubbing, molehill cutting, and tilling the ground; also we had to sell other estates at under value to complete our purchase, so that our damages amount to £400.<sup>2</sup>

There were many other estates where the soldiers pursued the same policy of enclosing parks and commons and "improving" their rents. John Dove, John Ireton and George Cooper helped to ruin a great deer park at Clarendon, Wiltshire, but as the royal commissioners pointed out in 1660, the new uses to which the land was being put had improved the revenue by £1,200 a year, all of which would be lost if Clarendon were reimparked as Charles desired.<sup>3</sup> The officers of Harrison's regiment ploughed up the roots of the trees they had cut down in Marylebone Park and let out the land in small holdings to tenants who used it for dairy farming. The rents were racked to produce £40 more than had been reckoned possible by the surveyors in 1649.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that Richard Deane, who "unmercifully

1 SP29/22/263-4

2 CSPD 1654, 129

3 CSPD 1660-1, 285-6

4 Ann Saunders, op. cit., Chapter III

demolished" Havering Park, Essex,<sup>1</sup> and Richard Atson and William Peverell, who disparked Otlands Park,<sup>2</sup> had the like object of increasing their revenue by converting parks to farmland. It is not surprising that many of their actions were unpopular with local inhabitants. The enclosure of common land had provoked riots since the fifteenth century, and so the people of north Middlesex who fought the soldiers enclosing their common in Enfield Chase were continuing a venerable tradition.<sup>3</sup> Colonel Valentine Atton also provoked riots in Huntingdonshire when he decided to improve the revenues from the manor of Somersham.<sup>4</sup>

If this interpretation is correct we can dismiss the traditional view of the military purchasers as reckless exploiters and see them as energetic if often ruthless agrarian developers. Their unsentimental attitude to the palaces and parks of the former king caused consternation among cavaliers, just as their determination to enclose common land and rack rents angered local inhabitants. But their behaviour makes good economic sense when one remembers that the prices they had paid for their estates were reasonable only on the assumption that the lands would be used differently than they had been by the king. In this respect the soldiers' behaviour was closely parallel to the purchasers of the monastic lands a century earlier.

1 The Mystery of the Good Old Cause (1660), BM K1923/2, p. 22

2 YCH Surrey ii, 478

3 A Relation of the Cruelties and Barbarous Murthers, and Other Misdemeanours, done and committed by some Foot-Souldiers, and others, without Command, upon some of the Inhabitants of Enfield, Edmonton, Southmyms, and Hadley (1659), BM E993/10

4 The Mystery of the Good Old Cause, 36

## CHAPTER VII

The Crown Lands and the Restoration

It remains to consider the place of the crown lands in the settlement of 1660. The sales of forfeited land during the interregnum had created a massive vested interest in the commonwealth and protectorate, and as late as February 1660 it was widely believed that the existence of this interest was an insuperable barrier to the return to a monarchical form of government. In December 1659, for example, Lord Mordaunt wrote to Charles to tell him that they could expect little help from the Corporation of London since 19 out of 24 aldermen had purchased crown and church lands, "which, with other mercenary motives, make them a corrupt court."<sup>1</sup> General Monk shared this conviction of the political importance of the confiscated lands, and the respect that he showed towards their owners explains much of his cautious behaviour during the winter of 1659-60. Although he had drastically purged his army of radical officers before embarking upon the long march to London, there were still many officers who held crown and church lands, and fee farm rents, and Monk continued to evince a lively respect for their interests.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Clarendon State Papers iii (1786), p. 650. I have been able to identify only three aldermen, who were in office in 1659-60, as holders of crown lands: Edward Backwell, John Blackwell and Sir John Barkstead. (A.B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London, vol. ii (1913), pp. 88, 90) There are two others who might have been holders of crown land. John Ireton, alderman for Bread Street Ward from 1651-60, was one of the three men who were "sold" some lands, mills and tenements in Horsham, Sussex for £2,064.10.0. but he was not one of those for whom the property was rated. (Beaven ii, 78; E121/4/9/34) John Alayn, alderman of Billingsgate from 1658-9, may have been the same John Allen to whom Widcombe Farm, Somerset was sold but not rated, for £497.10.0. (Beaven ii, 89; E121/4/5/88)

2 John Barwick gave Hyde an erroneous *impression* when he wrote in March 1660, "...it is no small happiness, that most of his officers are post-nati to the spoyle both of the church and crown; for there the shoe pincheth most." (Thurloe State Papers vii (1742), p. 861) Military purchasers were never more than a minority among the army officers at any time but they were always a minority to be reckoned with, even under Monk.



His extreme care for the purchasers of confiscated lands is manifest at every step along the way. In January 1660 he reproved the gentlemen of Devon who had sent a letter to the Speaker of the house of commons demanding the readmission of secluded Members. Monck clearly recognised that such a move would lead straight to the restoration of the king; yet he thought it obvious that a restoration was impossible since the king's means of support had been taken away by the sale of his estates. Only a republic could protect the new interests created by the land sales of the past dozen years; therefore, to readmit the secluded Members, many of whom supported the monarchy and the abolition of all laws passed since their expulsion, would be likelier to lead to a continuance of the civil war than an end to it. In order to preserve peace, Monck concluded, it would be preferable for all to submit to the Rump.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcely a month later Monck had changed his mind and sent out a proclamation announcing the readmission of the secluded Members, in order for them to dissolve the present parliament and issue writs for a new one. But he made a point of assuring his regiments that the present parliament would not repeal any of the acts concerning the sale or disposition of lands forfeited to the state, and that the new parliament would be pressed to confirm these sales.<sup>2</sup> As late as March the royalist Philip arwick was urging Charles to confirm the owners of confiscated lands in their possessions in order to secure the support necessary for his restoration.<sup>3</sup> At about the same time the earl of Manchester was trying to bribe Monck into recalling the house of lords with the promise of an act to confirm the soldiers in their possession of the confiscated estates.<sup>4</sup>

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1 G. Davies, The Restoration of Charles II 1658-1660 (San Marino, California, 1955), p. 269

2 R. Baker, A Chronicle of the Kings of England (1679), pp. 688-9

3 D. Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy in England 1649-1660 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1960), pp. 307-8

4 G.F. Trevallyn Jones, "The Composition and Leadership of the Presbyterian Party in the Convention", EHJ lxxix (1964), p. 308

In the end however the forces favouring the restoration of the king without conditions proved stronger than those who wanted to hold onto the forfeited lands. As the months wore on it became evident that the guardians of the interregnum land settlement would not be able to prevail in the face of an ever more militant royalism. By the time the Convention Parliament was summoned, the demand of the "grantees of the Presbyterian junto" that the king confirm the sales of crown and church lands was labelled intolerable by the royalists and thrown out.<sup>1</sup> The promise of the Declaration of Breda, that all disputes concerning forfeited lands would be determined by a free parliament, was thus proven to be a broken reed, at least for the holders of crown and church lands. Although the officers continued to speak optimistically of his Majesty's "readiness to consent to a Confirmation of Sales, and other Grants and Purchases of Estates to all Persons now in possession of the same",<sup>2</sup> they and the civilian grantees were clearly at the mercy of a parliament that might easily turn vindictive when it came to the land question.

How does one explain this rapid capitulation of the large antimonarchical interest represented by the holders of confiscated lands? The phenomenon must be seen primarily in terms of the politics of the army, for as Monck and everyone else knew, it was those with swords in their hands who would be the ultimate arbiters of England's political fate. By 1659 the army had become deeply divided and demoralized, with the men set against the officers, and the officers feuding among themselves. No one could be ignorant of how the Good Old Cause had degenerated into a sordid squabble between private factions, unenlivened by any scrap of vision or moral purpose. The rank and file, unpaid and compelled to live off free quarter, were acutely conscious of the contempt that the population

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1 ib.

2 Baker, op. cit., 706

harboured towards them. They therefore combined with the "triumvirate" of lower officers, sectaries and republicans who, in the spring of 1659 brought about the downfall of the protectorate and the recall of the Rump.<sup>1</sup> However, when the government of the Rump turned out to be no better than its predecessor, the rank and file became alienated once again. Arrears continued to pile up, reaching £700,000 by the summer of 1659,<sup>2</sup> and the chorus of denunciations rose in a crescendo. Special antagonism was reserved for the grandees, who, it was felt, had never shared in their men's plight. They had instead grown prosperous by purchasing forfeited lands with their men's debentures, bought at heavy discounts. This exploitation of the rank and file had continued throughout the 1650's because of the chronic failure to pay arrears, and it was upon this grievance that royalist pamphleteers constantly harped. William Cole, "a Lover of his Country", denounced the army grandees for taking advantage of the soldiers "in putting a necessity on them to sell their arrears to you for a matter of nought."<sup>3</sup> The author of A Secret Word to the Wise asked the "Well-affected People of the Good Old Cause"

Whether there ought not to be a speedy proceeding against those that bought, and (as I may say) forced many of the soldiers to sell their arrears at two shillings the pound, whereby they beggar'd the soldiers, dishonor'd the state, and deserves at least to purchase those lands at a valuable consideration, there being Presidents of severe punishments in former ages to such?<sup>4</sup>

Another pamphleteer in the same month (June 1659) referred to the fact that soldiers' arrears were being bought for 12d. in the pound.<sup>5</sup> In

- 1 A.H. Woolrych, "The Good Old Cause and the Fall of the Protectorate", Cambridge Historical Journal xiii (1957), 156
- 2 G. Davies, "The Army and the Restoration of 1660", Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research xxxii (1954), p. 27
- 3 "A Rod for the Lawyers...and a Word to the Army", in The Harleian Miscellany iv (1809), p. 325
- 4 13 June 1659, EM, E986/6, p. 4
- 5 The Unhappy Marks-men (13 June 1659), p. 5, EM, E986/5

August, "A Quondam Member of the Army" penned A Friendly Letter of Advice to the Souldiers, in which he strove to inflame their resentment against the officers.

They, have something to say for their perseverance; they have got ealth, and some thing like Honour; but what benefit accrews to you? you are Night by Night upon the Guard; you are Night and Day constrained (like so many Catchpoles) silently to steal through the streets, whereby to surprise an innocent person, and bring him to Destruction; and all this while you are poor and Beggary without pay; you labour for nought; and if you had your wages, 'twere no more then would keep you from starving; yet this small pittance cannot be obtained; for want whereof, you run upon the score to such persons, who are not able to forbear; Hence it is, you are generally Despised, Contemned, cursed by poor Widows, Orphans, and all honest people...

The charges made by the royalist pamphleteers were echoed in some of the broadsides published by the soldiers. In The Sentinels Remonstrance they claimed to have fought for liberty and justice but to have been betrayed "because of self-seeking-men set over us, who by our means were raised from the meanest Mechanics to Lord-like Inheritances." Whenever they tried to improve their conditions they were "enjailed, beaten, and abused by our Officers, in a most barbarous manner..."<sup>2</sup> The soldiers of William Goffe's late regiment drew a poignant picture of the extremities to which they had been reduced by want of pay.

...many times they are destitute of Bread and Drink for their Wives and Children, having sold and pawned what they had to satisfie their hungry Stomachs, and racking Landlords, and yet all too little; Besides others that have no Families, are enforced to diet at the Cookes shops, and the Victualers, upon the Officers engagement, for them at 6d. per diem, where they must either be content to take what the Victualer pleaseth, or fast, having no other remedy: whereas, if they had their Pay, they might buy their Commodities at the best and cheapest rates; but by this means the Sutlers are enriched, and the Army ruined.<sup>3</sup>

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1 EM, E993/13, pp. 5-6

2 8 June 1659, EM, 669f. 21/46

3 The humble Petition of the Sentinels in the Regiment formerly belonging to Major General Goffe (10 June 1659), EM, 669f. 21/47

This rank and file hostility to the army grandees and the Rump, which was fully fledged by the summer of 1659, was skilfully converted within 9 months to support for the monarchy. A number of factors assisted this conversion. At the same time that the soldiers were alienated from their commanders and from the government, they were keenly aware of the people's revilement of them. Monk's drastic purging of his army prior to marching into England effectively eliminated any radical alternative that the rank and file might have wished to choose. On the other hand, Monk's procrastination after his arrival in England gave them time to accustom themselves gradually to the idea of the king's return. Finally, the promise of the Declaration of Breda, of a speedy satisfaction of military arrears, won them decisively to the side of the exiled king. The soldiers who in November 1659 had threatened to make a ring for their officers to fight in,<sup>1</sup> welcomed and swore allegiance to Charles at Blackheath in May 1660.<sup>2</sup> Their presence at Blackheath showed that those among them who hoped to receive their arrears were stronger in the end than those who dreaded the loss of the crown and church lands.

With the summoning of the Convention Parliament, the royalists were firmly in the saddle once more, and the owners of forfeited estates had good reason to fear the worst. Their first troubles probably came from tenants and other local inhabitants. There was a widespread refusal to pay rents, accompanied by sporadic violence and theft. The officers in possession of Enfield Chase, for example, were terrorized by local inhabitants "pretending to be Countenanced therein by persons of Quality";<sup>3</sup> George Glyn and his servants were driven out of the manor of Boyton,

1 G. Davies, "The Army and the Restoration", 27

2 G. Davies, The Restoration of Charles II, 352

3 Crest 6/2/123

Cornwall by zealous royalists;<sup>1</sup> and the officers in Theobalds Park had some of their timber stolen from them "by certaine persons pretending an authority from his Majestie...."<sup>2</sup> The crown officials took as dim a view of these unruly manifestations as they did of the withholding of rents. The king had decreed upon his return that the holders of crown estates would be allowed to keep the rents due to them up to 24 June 1660, and in some cases the decree was extended to cover the Michaelmas rents as well. But so many tenants still refused to pay their rents that Treasurer Southampton was forced to postpone declaring the accounts of the receivers of crown revenue for 1660 until the end of Michaelmas term 1661. The situation became so serious that the king finally issued a letter to his chief financial officials ordering them to crack down on tenants refusing to pay their rents to the parliamentary purchasers.<sup>3</sup>

In parliament meanwhile, embittered royalists were crying out for their long-awaited revenge. Although the debate attracted many speakers, it is noteworthy that none of the Members who held crown land - among them, Sir Robert Pye, Thomas Cewen, Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, Colonel Sir Hugh Bethell and Colonel Ralph Knight - appears to have been audacious enough to speak in defence of his own interests.<sup>4</sup> Extremist MPs argued that the crown and church lands were stolen property, and that no one, regardless of his innocence, could expect compensation for receiving stolen property. One of them demanded to know what possible objection there could be to this argument, and then proceeded to answer his own question:

1 Crest 6/2/177-8

2 Crest 6/1/228

3 PRO, Land Revenue, Miscellaneous Books, LR2/266/96-100; Treasurer Southampton's Crown Lease Book (1661), printed in A. Shaw, ed., Calendar of the Treasury Books, vol. vii, part iii, 1572

4 A number of purchasers of crown land had been expelled from the Convention or were not allowed to sit. They included Colonel Alban Cox, Colonel John Hutchinson and General John Lambert. (Cobbett's Parliamentary History iv (1808), pp. 4, 5, 8)

... 'tis objected that the Violent Restoration of these Lands will (together with that Bugbear, Liberty of Conscience) breed a new Civil War: That the Land hath been sufficiently water'd with its native Blood: That a new Disturbance will be the Ruin of the whole: And that we have found, by Experience, that it is better to sit still and content ourselves under the Oppression, than seek Help by Civil Disturbance, whose remedy proves often worse than the Disease...<sup>1</sup>

In fact he had unintentionally given expression to the concerns that were uppermost in the minds of a majority of MPs. It was these concerns that finally prevailed against a harshly vindictive settlement; for, whilst parliament did restore the king to his estates, they left it up to him to decide how he would treat the present occupiers.

The restitution of the crown lands confronted the king with a delicate problem, because he was now in a position to be able to satisfy his obligations to two large and conflicting factions. First, there were his new friends, represented by Monk's coldstreamers, and other former supporters of the Good Old Cause who had assisted or acquiesced in his restoration. Their strength was considerable, and Charles appreciated that the loose talk that was circulating about retaliation against them for their past actions could prove extremely dangerous. Secondly there were the old friends, the countless longsuffering royalists who not unnaturally expected to see their faithfulness rewarded and their enemies' perfidy avenged.

With the treasury empty, Charles could only hope to satisfy these two factions with gifts of offices and lands. Before the lands could be parceled out, however, there had to be some discrimination made among those who were presently in possession. It would have been f tuous to condemn them all as receivers of stolen property. A plan for solving the problem was submitted by Sir Edmund Sawyer in the form of a sixfold

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1 Old Parliamentary History xxii (1760), p. 254

classification of the purchasers of the crown lands. First, he suggested, there were the Parliament men, whose sole motive had been to profiteer and who would be very grateful if the king did not claim their private estates when he took back his own. Second were Monk's soldiers who, because of their loyalty, should be given back the purchase price of their lands with 6% interest. It was Sawyer's opinion that few of them would desire to retain possession of their estates by becoming tenants of the king. Third were the "Soldiers of fortune" who had prolonged the war and hindered the restoration. They obviously deserved no consideration. Then there were the "Men of a covitus desire" who had bought lands to get a quick profit and to demonstrate their adherence to the commonwealth. Another group who deserved harsh treatment were those who had torn down houses and cut timber. "If theis be stripped to their shurtts it will not give satisfaction, and therefore inqu[1]sission would be made who bought the meteryalls, who were as ill affected as the others which sould them and ought to giue satisfaction for the same". The sixth group were those tenants who had bought their estates in order to preserve them from spoil, and who naturally deserved sympathetic treatment. As for the holders of fee farm rents, Sawyer argued that they had already got back their money with interest, and so the rents should be returned to the crown. Holders of land in the queen mother's jointure should also be dispossessed, since her Majesty was only a tenant for life. In conclusion, Sawyer observed, "The ould rule is caveat emptor".<sup>1</sup>

Although Sawyer's classification is somewhat eccentric, and his suggestions occasionally impractical (it would have been impossible, for example, to pay back the loyal soldiers their purchase money with interest), his paper nevertheless contains the main outline of the crown land settlement

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1 EM, Egerton MS 2542/518



at the restoration.

Thus, in principle, the crown resumed all of its estates which had been confiscated and sold during the interregnum; but it would be inaccurate to state, as Ogg did, that "purchasers of crown lands were dispossessed altogether."<sup>1</sup> To be sure, all regicides and traitors, both military and civilian, were wholly dispossessed. Anyone who held lands in the queen's jointure was also dispossessed, no matter what his political complexion.<sup>2</sup> But there was a considerable number of soldiers who benefited from the bargain struck between General Monk and Charles II. When in July 1660 these soldiers petitioned to be permitted to become tenants of their crown estates, the king ordered his surveyor general, Sir Charles Harbord, to receive particulars of the lands and rents purchased and claimed by the army. He laid down as a guideline that all officers and soldiers "as were certified...to have Corresponded, or did loyally with our Generall or George Booth in their designs towards our happy Restauration might be kept in the quiett possession of the said Lands and Rents by them so purchased untill we should be informed of the true State of their severall Interest and should thereupon declare our further pleasure touching their satisfaction."<sup>3</sup> In accordance with these instructions Monk requested his regimental commanders to collect information from their officers and men concerning the crown estates that they had bought. Specifically, they were to find out the name of the estate, when it was purchased, its yearly value, and whether the soldier or officer had bought it in trust or for himself. Two copies of this information were then to be sent to Dr Samuel Barrow at Mr. William Clarke's house in Pall Mall, who was then to forward one copy to the surveyor general.<sup>4</sup>

1 England in the Reign of Charles II (2 vols., Oxford, 1934), vol. 1, 162

2 LR2/266/61

3 LR2/266/96-7

4 Clarke Papers iv, 269

With the administrative machinery underway, the required information came back quite speedily to the surveyor general. 30 coldstreamers entered claims for crown estates.<sup>1</sup> Another 15, all officers, were listed as having corresponded with General Monk or Sir George Booth prior to the restoration.<sup>2</sup> Among these 15 were Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, holder of the manor of Ingleby, Lincolnshire, and part of the manor of Brampton, Huntingdonshire, and his major, Thomas Babington, who held lands and tenements in Chester, East Greenwich, Eltham and the Maison Dieu Hospital at Dover. Both these men had tried unsuccessfully to organise support for Booth's uprising in the summer of 1659.<sup>3</sup> It is not known how many of the other 13 were also involved with Booth. The 15 correspondents were included in a larger list of 93 officers and men belonging to the standing army who were also deemed to have been friendly to Monk.<sup>4</sup> The yearly value of all the lands and fee farm rents claimed by the coldstreamers was £2,120.16.11½. The yearly value of the lands claimed by other members of the standing army was £9,789.0.3. When a few last minute additions had been taken into account, the yearly value of the crown lands claimed by military purchasers totalled £12,448.17.10½.<sup>5</sup>

On 20 September 1660 Harbord wrote to the king giving his opinion that Monk and the officers had included in their lists many claims "that seeme to bee very doubtfull" and "not intended to be considered by your Majesty." Among them were "such...as have bin Reformed Officers and Souldiers of the late pretended Parliament or Committee of Safety, and

1 See Appendix II (i)

2 See Appendix II (ii)

3 G. Davies, The Restoration, 131

4 See Appendix II (iii)

5 LR2/266/63, 66

did not correspond with my Lord Generall or Sir George Booth, but have lately procured themselves to bee put into the Muster Rolls, (as Mr. Mathew Allured, Thomas Else and divers others)". Moreover, many of the lands claimed by the soldiers belonged to the queen mother's jointure, and were not in the king's power to grant. It was unlikely that the queen would lend a sympathetic ear to soldiers' petitions since her condition was "very hard", and she had asked to be freed from any claims upon her estates.<sup>1</sup> Two men are definitely known to have been excluded from the list as a result of Harbord's vigilance - Mathew Alured, whose manors and fee farms had been worth £427.14.4. per annum and Thomas Else, whose share of the queen's jointure in Norfolk was worth £19.10.0. per annum.<sup>2</sup> 17 officers were granted leases "during his Majesties Pleasure",<sup>3</sup> and most of the rest seem to have been granted leases for 31 years.<sup>4</sup> Roughly a quarter of the £12,448.17.10½ claimed by the soldiers was in fee farm rents and the rest were in lands. This corresponds with what we know to have been the relative value of the lands and fee farm rents sold during the interregnum.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the leases given to coldstreamers and other members of the standing army, there were the grants to George Monck and Edward Montagu. Charles had promised Monck an outright gift of land worth £7,000 in addition to his other rewards. The promise was largely honoured by several large grants in 1661. By these grants Monck received several of the choicest crown estates, among them Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire, the honor

1 LR2/266/61

2 LR2/266/66

3 LR2/266/88

4 Most of these leases do not appear either in "An Alphabetical Account of the Land Revenues belonging to the Crown as the same appear by the Parliamentary Surveys and Books of Entry in the Surveyor Generals Office since the year MDCL" (BM, Add. 30, 208), or the list of "Lands Demised by the Crown from 1640 to 1667" (PRO, Land Revenue, Miscellaneous Books, LR2/56). However, there are discrepancies between the two lists, and each of them seems to have many omissions. J. St John stated that the soldiers were allowed to continue in possession of lands worth £10,000 per annum. His figure, though a rough one, seems to be reasonably accurate (Observations on the Land Revenue of the Crown (1787), p. 89)

5 See above, Introduction, p. 8

of Clitheroe, Lancashire and Clarendon Park, Wiltshire. All together, the grants totalled £6,753.11.5 $\frac{1}{4}$ .<sup>1</sup> Edward Montagu, later first earl of Sandwich, had been promised £4,000 in land. The promise was fully met with a grant of the manor of Brampton, Huntingdonshire and various fee farm rents.<sup>2</sup> Monck and Montagu were the only two men to whom crown land was alienated. All other grants were in the form of leases, usually on generous terms and without entry fines.<sup>3</sup>

The second large faction which Charles had to satisfy were the "old friends", or cavaliers, some of whom had paid a high price for their loyalty during nearly 20 years. Perhaps the most richly rewarded of these was Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, who got the manor of Woodstock, Oxfordshire, part of Wychwood Forest, and the office of ranger in the said forest. Woodstock alone had been worth more than £17,000 in 1649, but the rents for all these properties were set nominally at £216.14.4. Even that sum was remitted to Clarendon in return for paying the keeper's wages and buying hay for the deer.<sup>4</sup> Viscount Mordaunt, one of the most tireless royalist conspirators of the 1650's, got the park and manor of Curry Mallett, and the manor of Shepton Mallett, Somerset, all for the negligible rent of £84.13.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>5</sup> Lord Chief Justice Orlando Bridgman got a lease of Bowood Park, Wiltshire in consideration of his loan of £3,330 to Charles I at Oxford. The land was worth £321.10.0. a year but Bridgman was asked to pay only £30.<sup>6</sup>

1 Two grants of 14 February and 27 March 1661 came to £3,873.2.10 $\frac{1}{2}$  and £1,680.8.7. respectively. Clarendon Park, which was granted separately on 30 January 1661, was said by the royal commissioners to be worth £1,200 per annum. (LR2/266/83; CTB i, 194; CSPD 1660-1, 285-6)

2 LR2/266/83

3 LR2/56 passim. Many of the properties were let for a quarter of their improved yearly value.

4 LR2 56; E121/5/7/12

5 LR2/56

6 Crest 6/2/572

John Ashburnham got a lease of Beckering, Brogborough and Ampthill Parks in Bedfordshire for 40 years at £100 a year. Their improved value was said to be £1,112. These generous terms were granted in consideration of a loan of £12,912 made by Viscount Falkland, Sir Edward Nicholas and Ashburnham to the late king. Ashburnham was also obliged to pay £5,000 to the queen mother for her jointure interest in the lands.<sup>1</sup> The daughters of Henry, late earl of Monmouthshire, received a lease of the manor and parks of Rudfen, Warwickshire for a rent of £200 a year and a fine of £400, which had been reduced from £800. Under the commonwealth the manor of Rudfen had sold for £9,159.15.6.<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Berkeley got a lease of 800 acres in Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £20 a year. The property was valued by the surveyor general at £83.2.0.<sup>3</sup> Sir George Carteret got a lease of the manors of Leeham, Devon and Pengelly, Cornwall for a peppercorn rent until the king's debt of £4,000 should be redeemed.<sup>4</sup> Lord Viscount Moore got a lease of the manor of Kennington, Surrey, recently rated at £319 a year, for only £150 a year.<sup>5</sup> Secretary Edward Nicholas got a 31 year lease of 3,410 acres of Windsor Great Park and the Paddock Walk for only £200, when their improved value was said to be £754.7.0. a year.<sup>6</sup> Other prominent royalists who were rewarded with leases of crown land were Henry Seymour, Sir Richard Brown, John Evelyn, the duchess of Somerset, Sir Timothy Tirrell, Sir Robert Townsend, Sir Robert Long, Sir Herbert Price, Sir Richard Fanshawe, Mr. William

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1 LR2/56/1; CTB vii, part iii, 1577

2 CTB vii, part iii, 1592; E121/5/1/14

3 Crest 6/2/337-8

4 Crest 6/2/227-9

5 Crest 6/2/328-9

6 LR2/266/85; LR2/56

Saunderson and Sir Edward Graves.<sup>1</sup> There was another group of 70 or 80 lesser royalists who benefited in a similar fashion from the king's liberality with his recovered estates.<sup>2</sup> They can have been however only a small minority of the royalists who sought leases from the crown, for surveyor general Harbord's books of constats, the Treasury Books and the State Papers contain countless petitions from hopeful royalists, many of them pointing to wounds, imprisonments, loans, sequestrations of estates and other forms of sacrifice undergone on behalf of the king and his late father.

A third and smaller class of supplicants for the crown lands were those immediate tenants who had purchased their estates during the interregnum. Most of them excused their seeming disloyalty by blaming parliamentary soldiers who had threatened them with expulsion if they refused, or by asserting that they had wished to preserve the crown estates from the spoil that would inevitably ensue when roundheads became landlords. There were many penitent petitions to the surveyor general from purchasers desiring to return to their former tenant status. Charles Harbord usually accepted their excuses and apologies, and recommended that they be granted new leases with modest fines and reasonable rents.<sup>3</sup>

Having considered the different claims made upon the landed revenue of the crown, we can now understand why those revenues shrank to "a shadow of their ancient bulk" after the restoration.<sup>4</sup> They shrank principally because of the twin obligations which Charles had incurred in regaining his throne - to faithful cavaliers on the one hand, and to the newer but even more important allies on the other. These obligations were extremely

1 LR2/266/57

2 LR2/266/58

3 e.g. Crest 6/2/302-3

4 Madge, Domesday of Crown Lands, 263

expensive to meet, and in combination with Charles's reckless liberality they proved to have a disastrous effect upon the crown estates. St John attributed much of the loss of revenue to the king's "heedlessness, wanton extravagance and profusion",<sup>1</sup> and the contemporary evidence supports his judgement. In September 1660 the commons committee that reported on the king's revenue viewed the situation with the utmost gravity. They recommended several steps to check the loss of landed revenue. First they urged that no further alienations of crown land should be good in law. Second, they called on the king to grant no lease for more than 3 lives or 31 years, where a third part of the true yearly value was reserved for a rent. Finally, they recommended a moratorium on the granting of leases until the commons had come to a decision on how the king was to be supplied with an annual income of £1,200,000.<sup>2</sup> Although Charles seems to have ignored this last recommendation, he recognised the seriousness of the situation by accepting the first two recommendations, which he embodied in an order of 12 September 1660. From that order it transpired that many suitors had been successfully bypassing Charles Harbord and the earl of Southampton in their efforts to obtain crown leases. It was not admitted but it was apparent that some of these suitors had caught the ear of the king himself and secured pensions larger than they should have, stewardships for life instead of at the king's pleasure, and leases for longer than the stipulated 31 years. In this way much revenue had been lost. As a further remedy Charles instructed his principal secretaries not to bring for his signature any lease of the crown revenues that had not first been approved by the lord treasurer,

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1 Observations on the Land Revenue of the Crown, 92

2 CJ viii, 150

...that so he may be liable to no importunities from suitors, as if he were disputing our pleasure after we had seemed to grant any thing; nor wee to retract what wee have granted; but that in all things of this nature, the dignity of the place of our High Treasurer, as it hath ever formerly been, may be preserved, and the old forme and laudable course of our Exchequer maintained, &c...<sup>1</sup>

Whether or not the precautions of September 1660 were put into effect, there was nothing that could be done to prevent Charles letting his estates at nominal rents, and this he continued to do. Major Thomas Johnson got a lease of the manor, park and demesnes of Liskeard, Cornwall for £90.2.10. when it was worth £200 by the surveyor general's estimate. Colonel Sir Hugh Bethell was given the manor of Hempholme, Yorkshire and several free farm rents in return for £5 a year. Hempholme alone had been worth £146.10.0. a year.<sup>2</sup> Major Robert Huntington got 125 acres and several houses in Windsor Great Park for £5 also.<sup>3</sup> William Clarke, Monck's faithful secretary, was granted a lease of part of Marylebone Park for £4.10.0. which was £85.10.0. less than its true yearly value; and a lease of a quarter of St John's Wood for £6.14.6, £90 short of its real value.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, it is no wonder that the crown's landed revenue only averaged £12,000 a year during the first 11 years after the restoration.<sup>5</sup> There is no reason to attribute this meagre return to the failure of the crown to recover its lands. W.A. Shaw, S.J. Madge and, to a lesser extent, J. St John, all imply that large scale concealments by the purchasers of crown lands, combined with administrative chaos at the restoration,

1 Printed in St John, op. cit., Appendix VI, p. 29

2 LR2/266/83; CTB vii, part iii, 1617

3 LR2/266/83

4 LR2/266/83-4. Thus it would appear inaccurate to state that "new sales and leases [were] effected in accordance with...the improved values, which the Interregnum surveyors had worked out." (R.B. Pugh, The Crown Estate (1960), p. 14)

5 CTB vii, part i, pp. xix-xx



prevented a full-scale resumption of the crown's lands and rents.<sup>1</sup> Yet everything we know about the work of Charles Harbord indicates that he carried out his surveys of the crown lands with efficiency and dispatch. W.A. Shaw's assertion that "the records of the ancient possessions had been scattered during the usurpation", will not stand up to a moment's examination. At least two excellent sets of records were available at the restoration: the close rolls, on which every sale of crown lands and fee farm rents had been recorded and indexed; and the parliamentary surveys, to which, as we know, Harbord turned continually for guidance in making his valuations. Given the availability of these and other records it does not appear that any major concealments of crown land could have been successful for long. Moreover, if the administrators happened to overlook the holdings of a parliamentary purchaser there were plenty of angry royalists in every county who were only too happy to inform on him.

If our argument is correct, the supposed difficulties of recovering the crown lands offer no explanation for the drastic shrinkage in the revenue from them. The lands forfeited to the crown by regicides and traitors would easily have made up for what had been lost. Indeed, an incomplete list of the personal estates of the regicides shows that not less than £39,587.16.3. a year in land accrued to the crown from that source.<sup>2</sup> The failure of the crown to restore its landed revenue to its former magnitude had very little to do with the administrative problems of the 1660's and a great deal to do with the political exigencies of the restored monarchy. As in 1649, so in 1660, the crown lands were seen as an easy instrument to wipe out some very pressing political debts.

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- 1 CTB i, p. xli; Madge, op. cit., 263; St John, op. cit., 89, Shaw cites a short list of discoveries submitted to the commons in June 1660 as evidence of the difficulties encountered in recovering the crown lands. In fact the list he refers to does not concern crown lands at all, but is rather a partial list of traitors' lands.
  - 2 I have calculated this total from a list of the yearly values of the estates of 73 regicides. (LR2/266/4-5) In several cases however the value of their estates was not known, so the crown may well have gained considerably more than £39,587.16.3. per annum. St John stated that £69,727.3.5. was raised for the use of the duke of York by the sale of forfeited estates, and that there were many other forfeited estates that did not come into the duke's possession. (op. cit., 90n)

## APPENDIX I

Fluctuations in the Debentures Market, 1649-1657

Place	Date	Price of Debentures		Remarks
		Bid or Paid	Asked	
---	29 March 1649		7s. or 6s.8d.	by Colonel John Bright <sup>1</sup>
Leeds	5 June 1649		6s.8d.	2
York	23 June 1649	4s. or 5s.		for "small debentures" <sup>3</sup>
---	23 June 1649	8s.	8s.	received by Captain Bethel and demanded by William Bradford <sup>4</sup>
Durham	31 July 1649	4s. or less		paid by Lieutenant Thomas Jackson <sup>5</sup>
York	4 August 1649	2s.		by Cornet John Baynes for debentures of small amounts <sup>6</sup>
York	14 August 1649		4s.	the rate at which Cornet John Baynes expected profitably to resell debentures he had already purchased <sup>7</sup>
Knowstrop	20 August 1649	2s.6d., 3s., 7s., 8s. or 9s.	6s. to 10s.	Robert Baynes had bought at 2s.6d. and 3s. but other men had been paying up to 9s. <sup>8</sup>
---	30 September 1649	8s.		9
York	13 October 1649		3s.6d.	for debentures "not within the last security" <sup>10</sup>
Carbrook (Norfolk)	20 October 1649	2s.6d.		for debentures "that come nott within the securitie" i.e., not redeemable upon crown land <sup>11</sup>

1 Add. 21417/83

2 Add. 21417/163

3 Add. 21417/196

4 Add. 21417/199

5 Add. 21417/267

6 Add. 21417/273

7 Add. 21417/296

8 Add. 21417/310

9 Add. 21418/51

10 Add. 21418/69

11 Add. 21418/86

Place	Date	Price of Debentures		Remarks
		Bid or Paid	Asked	
Leeds	14 December 1649		3s. <sup>1</sup>	
Doncaster	29 December 1649		ca. 7s. by Colonel John Bright <sup>2</sup>	
Boston	4 January 1650	3s. to 4s.	by John Lawson <sup>3</sup>	
Carbrook	5 January 1650	3s.		Adam Baynes and John Bright are of the opinion that the price of debentures will rise above 3s. "once the land is sett att sale" <sup>4</sup>
York	16 February 1650	5s.	5s.	Cornet Baynes is willing to sell at 5s. if Lawson will buy at least £100 worth <sup>5</sup>
Leeds	5 March 1650		4s.	The officer who offered bills at this rate was evidently unaware that prices were rising <sup>6</sup>
York	9 March 1650	9s.4d. 12s.6d.		9s.4d. to the rank and file for their share of "the £5,000" and 12s.6d. to Captain Skepper for his own debenture <sup>7</sup>
Carbrook	16 March 1650	6s.	6s.8d.	Colonel John Bright would not accept less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the value of his debenture <sup>8</sup>
York	26 March 1650	3s.	5s.	5s. asked by Cornet John Baynes <sup>9</sup>

1 Add. 21418/192

2 Add. 21418/241

3 Add. 21418/248

4 Add. 21418/251

5 Add. 21418/334

6 Add. 21418/369

7 Add. 21418/373 (References to "the £5,000" occur several times in the Baynes correspondence. Evidently it was a sum on money earmarked for Colonel Robert Lilburne's horse regiment and secured upon a crown property, though it is unclear which one it was. Debentures secured in so concrete a fashion would naturally fetch a higher price than others not so secured.)

8 Add. 21418/387

9 Add. 21419/2

Place	Date	Price of Debentures		Remarks
		Bid or Paid	Asked	
---	30 March 1650		7s.	by Captain Thomas Davile <sup>1</sup>
Leeds	19 April 1650	3s.		offered by Adam Baynes for unregistered county debentures <sup>2</sup>
Durham	9 May 1650		9s.	by Lieutenant Thomas Jackson <sup>3</sup>
Scarborough	9 May 1650		7s.6d.	by Captain Thomas Lascelles <sup>4</sup>
Scarborough	14 June 1650		7s.	by Captain Thomas Lascelles Even though prices have slackened he is unwilling to sell for less <sup>5</sup>
London	before 18 June 1650	7s.		Lord William Monson agreed to purchase £7,000 worth from Dalston and Charles Shafto at this rate. The Shaftos must have bought them for a good deal less <sup>6</sup>
---	17 February 1651	5s.	5s.	25% is mentioned as the current rate <sup>7</sup>
Ledston, Yorkshire	7 April 1651		6s.8d.	"at or under a noble per pound" <sup>8</sup>
Edinburgh	31 May 1651	4s.	4s.	"your [Adam Baynes's] rate for debentures", evidently for doubling on fee farm rents <sup>9</sup>
Edinburgh	3 June 1651	16d. to 18d.		for debentures eligible only for doubling <sup>10</sup>
Edinburgh	14 June 1651	4s.	4s.	Adam Baynes's price <sup>11</sup>

- 1 Add. 21419/9
- 2 Add. 21419/43
- 3 Add. 21419/78
- 4 Add. 21419/79
- 5 Add. 21419/152
- 6 C5/19/88; E121/4/1/16
- 7 Add. 21419/299
- 8 Add. 21420/28
- 9 Add. 21420/103
- 10 Add. 21420/107
- 11 Add. 21420/117

Place	Date	Price of Debentures		Remarks
		Bid or Paid	Asked	
York	31 July 1651	6s.		"Originall Debenters" <sup>1</sup>
York	31 July 1651	5s.6d.		for "assigned bills" (which could not be used during the 10 day preemption period allowed to original creditors). Bills of those who quit the army before 1648 sell "at farr less rates" <sup>2</sup>
York	31 July 1651	5s.		for assigned bills, some of which were sold by soldiery on their way to Ireland <sup>3</sup>
London	ca. July 1651	15d.	15d.	quoted by Abraham Granger as the market price for what were thought to be genuine bills eligible to be doubled on delinquent land <sup>4</sup>
London	before 16 August 1651	5s.	5s.	Colonel John Dove had instructed Samuel Chidley to procure <u>good</u> bills "although he paid a good price or more than the ordinary rate for them" <sup>5</sup>
York	28 October 1651	12d.	4s. or more	public faith bills <sup>6</sup>
York	16 December 1651		6s. or 7s.	debentures <sup>7</sup>
Ledston	23 December 1651	4s.	10s.	Baynes is still offering his usual rate <sup>8</sup>
Ledston	23 December 1651		2s.	debentures eligible only to be doubled on delinquent land <sup>9</sup>
Ledston	30 December 1651		6s.8d.	"the raits here advances because sey the officers th Major General [Lambert] hat taken the worst bargaine of theire hands and now concein ther debenters will Improve." <sup>10</sup>

1 Add. 21420/198

2 ib.3 ib.4 CSPD 1655, 8

5 C3/457/12; E121/4/5/81

6 Add. 21420/225

7 Add. 21420/307

8 Add. 21420/320

9 ib.

10 Add. 21420/330

Place	Date	Price of Debentures		Remarks
		Bid or Paid	Asked	
York	1 January 1652	8s.		Lieutenant Leavens asked Adam Baynes whether he might give more than this for debentures <sup>1</sup>
Southampton	1 January 1652	9s.		paid by Colonel William Sydenham to his own officers <sup>2</sup>
York	13 January 1652	?		Leavens asked Adam Baynes what price he should give for debentures "which you deayll for abov 5s. in London" <sup>3</sup>
Knowstrop	2 March 1652	5s.		Adam Baynes is now offering a shilling more <sup>4</sup>
---	3 April 1652	7s.3d. [?]	7s.6d.	Writing to Adam Baynes, Thomas Davile claimed that he had already been offered 7s.3d. <sup>5</sup>
London	before 20 May 1652	5s.	5s.	assigned bills <sup>6</sup>
Leeds	20 May 1652	16d.	16d.	debentures eligible for delinquent land <sup>7</sup>
---	21 June 1652		7s.6d.	8
---	10 July 1652	8s.	10s.	9
---	13 July 1652		12s.	asked by Cornet John Baynes for his stake in Nonsuch Palace <sup>10</sup>
Timbridge Wells	31 July 1652		6s.4d. 6s.6d. 6s.8d.)	for original bills, "al proper and apliable to... any...purchase of the kings landes." The writer said that he had been offered £5,000 worth of bills at these prices and expressed the hope that Adam Baynes could also procure him bill at similar prices <sup>11</sup>

- 1 Add. 21421/1
- 2 Add. 29319/99
- 3 Add. 21421/16
- 4 Add. 21421/81
- 5 Add. 21421/124
- 6 --- 1654, 39; E121/3/4/101
- 7 Add. 21422/19
- 8 Add. 21421/155
- 9 Add. 21421/173
- 10 Add. 21421/177
- 11 Add. 21421/196

Place	Date	Price of Debentures		Remarks
		Bid or Paid	Asked	
Knowstrop	5 April 1653	1s.4d.		paid for debentures of 1645 which were not redeemable on crown land <sup>1</sup>
Leeds	5 April 1653	4s.		paid several months ago by Anthony Deveveir for debentures of 1647/8, redeemable on crown land <sup>2</sup>
Leeds	5 April 1653	11s.	12s.	<sup>3</sup>
Leeds	23 April 1653	12s.	12s.	<sup>4</sup>
Kiplin, Yorkshire	6 June 1653	10s.	10s.	asked by Major Smithson, Captain Thomas Lilburne and Lieutenant Francis Wilkinson for their interest in Nonsuch Palace <sup>5</sup>
Dalkeith	28 June 1653		12s.	by Thomas and Francis Wilkinson for their troops' interest in Nonsuch <sup>6</sup>
Dalkeith	7 July 1653	11s.	11s.	said to have been received by Captain Lister for his interest in Nonsuch <sup>7</sup>
Dalkeith	4 August 1653	6s.	6s.	for "Gregory Constables Moyety not yet paid in upon purchase" <sup>8</sup>
Leeds	26 August 1653	2s.	5s.	for debentures not secured on the crown lands? <sup>9</sup>
North Wales	24 March 1654	7s.		Colonel John Jones estimated that Henry Cromwell could buy out the soldiers' interest in the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, Denbighshire for this rate <sup>10</sup>

- 1 Add. 21422/16
- 2 Add. 214 2/19
- 3 Add. 21422/18
- 4 Add. 21422/45
- 5 Add. 21422/96
- 6 Add. 21422/127
- 7 Add. 21422/137
- 8 Add. 21422/155
- 9 Add. 21422/161
- 10 J. Mayer, "Inedited Letters of Cromwell, Colonel Jones, Bradshaw and other Regicides", Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, New Series, 1(1860-61), p. 228

Place	Date	Price of Debentures		Remarks
		Bid or Paid	Asked	
London	June 1657		4s. to 5s.	referred to by Major General Goffe as the current price of debentures <sup>1</sup>
Portsmouth	1651	7s.6d.	7s.6d.	The price which George Joyce, motivated by generosity, paid his men <sup>2</sup>
London	1650-53	6d. to 1s.6d.	6d. to 1s.6d.	forged debentures <sup>3</sup>
London	before 31 August 1655	4s.3d.	4s.3d.	bought by Richard Nonnelly <sup>4</sup>

1 Thomas Burton, Diary (4 vols. 1828), ii, 241

2 Harleian Miscellany viii, 305

3 CSPD 1655, 9

4 CSPD 1655, 310



## APPENDIX II

Military Claims to Crown Lands. 1660(1) The coldstreamers' claims to crown lands. (from LR2/266/29-30)

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PROPERTIES	COUNTY
1 Major Thomas Johnson	General Monk's horse regiment	Liskeard manor	Cornwall
2 Captain Thomas Simnell	do.	lands in Spalding	Lincolnshire
3 Lieutenant Roper	do.	Biggleswade	Bedfordshire
4 William Dobson	do.	Branspeth and Crook and Billgran	Durham
5 Captain Mutlow	General Monk's foot regiment	Wyberton	Lincolnshire
6 Major General Thomas Morgan	Morgan's regiment	Hanbury Park, Ellis Little park in Tutbury, fee farm in Hollifoot	Staffordshire
7 Lieutenant Colonel de. itter		fee farms in Chester	Cheeshire
8 Sir Ralph Knight	Colonel Sir Ralph Knight	Egglesfield Rectory	Yorkshire
do.	do.	Winterton Rectory	Lincolnshire
9 Major Jeremiah Smith	Sir John Clobery	Hawkstead manor, etc.	Lancashire
10 Thomas Exley	do.	Spalding	Lincolnshire
11 Captain Thomas Deane	do.	Spalding, Pinchbeck, and fishings, etc.	do.
12 Captain Thomas Munn	do.	Weston, in Spalding manor	do.
13 Timothy Newmarsh	do.	Pinchbeck and Spalding	do.
14 William Jellis	do.	cottages in Spalding manor	do.
15 Lieutenant James Hornigold	do.	hundred of Wilby and Bucklin	Bedfordshire
16 Quartermaster Martin	do.	2 tenements and 18 acres in Theobalds	Hertfordshire
17 Captain Thomas Sutton	Colonel Fairfax	Knarborough	Yorkshire
18 Colonel Thomas Read	Colonel Read	manors of Rushden and Rands	Northamptonshire
do.	do.	manor of Gillingham	Kent
do.	do.	fishings and coal mines	Northumberland
19 Receiver General Baynes	---	several fee farms	Yorkshire

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PROPERTIES	COUNTY
20 Colonel Syler	'Left in Scotland'	manor of Hogthorpe	Lincolnshire
21 Commissary John Clarke		Hamond's farm in Stapleford Abbots	Essex
22 Marshall General Philip Watson		part of Holbeach honor of Tickhill	Lincolnshire Yorkshire
23 Secretary Sir William Clarke		St John's Wood Marylebone Park	Middlesex
24 Dr John Tootbecke		Pickering, Scalby and Blandsby Park	Yorkshire
25 Commissary Thomas Fleetwood		Ormeskirke Fee Farm	Lancashire
26 Lieutenant Robert Legard	Colonel Daniell	Spalding, Weston and Moulton	Lincolnshire
27 Lieutenant Colonel do. Richardson		Pickering, Scalby and Blandsby	Yorkshire
28 Captain Francis Rawson	do.	Eltham manor	Kent
29 Captain Thomas Sotherton	do.	Rosedale manor, rents Egham manor, rents	Yorkshire Surrey
30 Captain Anthony Wilkes, left in Scotland	Colonel Mann	Bewdley lower park and Paddock	Worcestershire

(11) 'Correspondents with the generall [Monck] or Sir George Booth' (LR2/266/30)

"Within Sir Charles Harbord's Report 20 September 1660":

Sir Hugh Bethell  
Colonel Ingoldsby  
Lieutenant Colonel Fincher  
Major Theophilus Hart  
Major Huntington  
Major Thomas French  
Major Babington  
Major Thomas Lilburne  
Major Izod

"Added since as by the Coldstreamers' order":

Major George Smithson

"Recommended to favour by my Lord Generall":

Lieutenant Colonel Pepper  
Captain John Northend  
Lieutenant Colonel Copperthwaite  
Captain Timothy Wylkes  
Captain Hugh Dodgein

(iii) Claims to crown lands and rents by members of the standing army  
(LR2/266/31-34)

(Note: Where the claims are for fee farm rents I have merely noted the fact without identifying the rents.)

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PROPERTIES	COUNTY
1 Adjutant General William Disner		240 acres of Theobalds Park	Hertfordshire
2 Judge Advocate Thomas Margetts		Biggleswade manor fee farms and the rent of the hundred of Wixtertree	Bedfordshire
3 Lieutenant Barning	Lord Bellasis	the moiety of Bowland Chase	Yorkshire and Lancashire
4 Major Thomas Isod	do.	Coxhill manor Cheal's Farm in Spalding, Cowbit and Weston mills in Kirton in Lindsey, etc. cottages in Pinchbeck	Lincolnshire
5 Sir Hugh Bethell		fee farms Holme in the Wolds Grindale Menthorpe Allerthorpe lands Sheriff Hutton Rice manor, and Hempholme manor	Yorkshire
6 Captain John Hatfield	Sir Hugh Bethell	fee farms	Yorkshire
7 Mathew Peirson	do.	do.	do.
8 Captain John Pockley	do.	do.	do.
9 Lieutenant Colonel Skepper	Colonel Birch	Pendle Forest in the honor of Clitheroe Saxton Rectory and tithes of Sheffe in Liton	Lancashire
10 Lieutenant Colonel Style	Sir Henry Chomley	manors of Carwydros, Langahangell, Croythen Stoke under Hamdon	Cardiganshire Somerset
11 John Hales, a trooper	Sir John Clebery	fee farms Whaplode and Cowbit manor and park of Kimbrough	Lincolnshire Yorkshire
12 Major Thomas Strangways	Sir John Clebery	Epworth manor Kay's Farm Chase's Farm Julian's Farm Robert Brown's Farm	Lincolnshire
13 Major Ralph Waterhouse	Colonel Daniell	fee farms $\frac{1}{2}$ of the manor of Epworth	Yorkshire Lincolnshire

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PROPERTIES	COUNTY
14 Lieutenant William Harrison	Colonel Evelin	tenements in Killington	Yorkshire
15 Lieutenant Colonel Dennis Pepper	do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ of Pickering manor manor of Sealby $\frac{1}{2}$ of Blandsby Park	do.
16 Captain Richard Castle	Governor of Tenby	Priory Mill of Haverford West and the old castle there	Pembrokeshire
17 Richard Croxall	"Master Gunner at Hull"	fee farms	---
18 Lieutenant Colonel George Kekewich	"no souldier"	manor of Miresk	Cornwall
19 Colonel Robert Gibbon	Colonel Gibbon	manor of Penshurst St Augustine's Court, Liberty and Stewardship	Kent
20 Major John Gibbon	do.	manor of East Farleigh and Holdenborough $\frac{2}{3}$ of the manor of Stradbroke and Stebouroft from Daniell Axtell in March 1659	do. Suffolk
21 Lieutenant Colonel Richard Yardly	do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ the manor of Ryne Bredy $\frac{1}{2}$ of the manor of Fordington $\frac{1}{2}$ the manor of Northpitt	Dorset Cornwall
22 Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Haynes	do.	"the like claims with this"	
23 Major Tobias Bridge	Colonel Harley	$\frac{1}{5}$ of the manor of Ampthill and Brogborough Park and Conny arren and park mead, and fee farms	Bedfordshire
24 Richard Ford	Lord Hawley	11 acres of Theobalds Park	Hertfordshire or Middlesex
25 Captain Edward Shippardson	do.	demesnes of the manor of Muchland Hardingham Hall	Lancashire
26 Captain Godfrey Ellis	Lord Herbert	2 tenements in Gloucester castle rents of the honor of Berkhamsted	Gloucestershire Northamptonshire
27 Major Thomas French	do.	manor of Kingsland with demesnes water mill in Dover, fee farms	Herefordshire Kent
28 Captain John Grove	do.	$\frac{4}{5}$ of Bestwood Park 3 tenements in the Strand	Nottinghamshire Middlesex

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PROPERTIES	COUNTY
29 Lieutenant Thomas do. Jackson		1/5 of lead mines called Derbyshire the King's Field	
30 Captain Thomas do. Milward		manor of Tring	Hertfordshire
31 Colonel Pury		fee farms	---
32 Lord Howard	Lord Howard	manor of Carlisle	Cumberland
33 Major Robert do. Huntington		125 acres in Windsor Great Park	Berkshire
34 Captain do. Theophilus Barnard	Lord Howard	188 acres in Windsor Great Park	do.
35 Cornet Richard do. Windsore		lands in Windsor Park	do.
36 Quartermaster do. Moses Scotton		fee farm rents	
37 Lieutenant Thomas do. Savage		lands in Windsor Park	do.
38 Cornet John do. Walpole		Whole Place in Fordington	Dorset
39 Benjamin do. Southwood		fee farms	
40 Richard Aubrey do.		manor of Mere Long Dean Wood, Knowle Wood, and coppices called Swincombe, Castlehill, Thrutch, Pen--d, Ashgrove and Nether Thrutch	Wiltshire
41 Major Thomas do. Babington	Colonel Ingoldsby	36 acres, 3 roods at Eltham 1/3 of Horn Parke and Shepherds Coppice 2 parts of a messuage in the Maisondieu in Dover and malthouses 29 tenements, decayed tenement in Greenwich	Kent  Cheshire Kent
42 Colonel Richard Ingoldsby		manor of Ingleby	Lincolnshire
43 Quartermaster do. Thomas Kidder		357 + 133 acres in the Maisondieu in Dover 485 acres of Hagg, parcel of the honor of Pickering	Kent  Yorkshire
44 Lieutenant John do. Ledbrooke		several parcels at Eltham and 49 acres, 1 rood, 27 poles tenement, barn, orchard and 35 acres in the Middle park	Kent
45 Hugh Row do.		12 acres more at Eltham	do.

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PR PERTIES	COUNTY
46 William Kind	Colonel Sir Ralph Knight	18 acres in Cheshunt	Hertfordshire
47 John Hide	Monck's horse	rents of the manor of Florence	Pembrokeshire
48 Nathaniel Philipps	do.	Barkely Lodge in Needwood Forest	Staffordshire
49 Captain Henry Clear	Colonel Morley	Kingswood coppice manor of Chertsey manor of Radnash	Surrey Buckinghamshire
50 Lieutenant Colonel Farley	do.	189 acres of land and woods in Cheshunt Park	Hertfordshire
51 Major Theophilus Hart	Lord Mountagu's, now the Earl of Sandwich	Barton upon Humber manor house of Kirton in Lindsey, and part of the demesnes Brovage of East and West Fens manor of Wainfleet 2 other small parcels in Kirton, besides forest lands	Lincolnshire
52 Andrew Nicholson	do.	3½ acres in Marylebone Park	Middlesex
53 William Higgins	do.	fee farms	Berkshire
54 Thomas Symonds	do.	fee farms 28 acres in Marylebone Park	Middlesex
55 Cornet Mathew Beynton	do.	fee farms	---
56 Thomas Wright	do.	Appletree manor, the profits of courts	Derbyshire
57 Thomas Knolls	do.	60 acres in Marylebone Park and fee farms	Middlesex
58 Colonel Philip Twisleton	Colonel Twisleton	manor of Newark manor of Spalding fee farms	Lincolnshire
59 Captain Stephen West	Earl of Northampton	fee farms	
60 Richard Cooke	Colonel Norton	reversion of houses near the King's gate in Holborn	Middlesex
61 Francis Weston	do.	quit rents of Cookham; other rents of that manor; 2 closes in New Windsor	Berkshire
62 Lieutenant Colonel Richard Fincher	do.	part of the manor of Fordington	Dorset
63 Captain Peter Murford	do.	moiety of Englishcombe manor	Somerset
64 John Blakey	Earl of Oxford	fee farms	Yorkshire
65 Major Thomas Lisleburne	do.	manor of Holme Cultram	Cumberland

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PROPERTIES	COUNTY
66 Major George Smithson	Earl of Oxford	fee farms	Yorkshire
67 Major George Smithson	do.	{ Monsuch Park (which was exchanged with Lambert for part of my Lord Langdale's estate in Yorkshire)	Surrey
68 Captain Francis Wilkinson			
69 Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Copperthwaite	Colonel Sheffield	manor of Muchland in Furness	Lancashire
70 Lieutenant Richard Beke	Duke of York	fee farms	
71 Thomas Crane	do.	the King's Farrier's Forgery in Cheshunt	Hertfordshire
72 Thomas James	do.	16 acres in Theobalds Park	do.
73 Jasper Pratt	do.	another part of the King's Farriers Forgery	do.
74 Thomas Tippin, George Fine and John Smith	do.	20 acres in Theobalds Park	do.
75 Richard Highington	do.	19 acres 1 rood in Waltham Cross and Cheshunt, and 3 acres 1 rood meadow	do.
76 Captain Hugh Parry	Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper	fee farm	---
77 William Ram	do.	Harberts in Spalding	Lincolnshire
78 Ezra Salter	do.	fee farms	
79 Henry Peacock	Colonel Unton Crooks, now Oneal's	the New Ground in Windsor Park	Berkshire
80 Major George Sedascue	do.	pasture in Kenilworth part of Theobalds House, Silkstone, and Catherin Titles called Bossvills Chantry	Warwickshire Hertfordshire Yorkshire
81 John Lawson	Treasurer at War	fee farms	---
82 Captain Benjamin Oakshott	Earl of Sandwich	fee farms	---
83 Quartermaster Allan Wharton	Duke of York	2 houses in Westminster	Middlesex
84 Colonel Mathew Allured	"Ref[used]"	manors of Burstall and Patrington, and fee farms	"not expressed" [sic, Yorkshire]
85 Captain Thomas Else	Lord Howard, "Ref[used]"	40 acres in East Dereham	Norfolk

SOLDIER	REGIMENT	PROPERTIES	COUNTY
86 Colonel John Streater	Lord Bellasis	fee farms	---
87 Colonel Mosser	Sir John Clobery	fee farms	---
88 Colonel Nathaniel Whetham		fee farms	---
89 Colonel Timothy Wylkes	"to be added to the Coldstreamers"	manor of Wyberton	Lincolnshire
90 Joseph Clavr		fee farms	---
91 Captain Davyes		fee farms	---
92 Captain Hugh Dedein	"to be added to the coldstreamers"		---
93 Captain John Northend		several rents, lands in Needwood and Sherwood Forests	Lincolnshire, Surrey and Yorkshire



## APPENDIX III

An Index of Purchasers of Crown Lands

This index lists all the initial purchasers of crown land, all the people on behalf of whom they bought, and all the people to whom the military purchasers subsequently resold. Except in a few cases, resales by civilians are not listed. The information for resales has been derived from the close rolls, the feet of fines, the recovery rolls of Common Pleas, Chancery Proceedings, the surveyor general's books of constats, and the lord treasurer's book of crown leases. When a soldier resold his crown land the entry under his name usually simply notes the fact that he bought crown land and gives the name of the person to whom he resold. Full information about the resale is contained under the name of the buyer rather than the seller.

\*\*\*\*

ADAMS, Stephen, of Pewsey, Sussex, shoemaker. John Urlin sold him the manor of Old Shoreham, Sussex for £280, 18th February 1654. (C54/3808/15)

ADDERLY, Ralph and Mary, of Cotton, Staffordshire, esquire and spinster. A parcel called Ruffney in the parish of Hanbury, Staffordshire was bought on behalf of Ralph but rated for Mary for £577.1.4, 30 April 1650. They were immediate tenants. (E121/4/6/2)

ADDIS, John, of London, gentleman. Quartermaster of horse under Captain Evanson in Whalley's regiment. He bought the manor of East Hendred, Berkshire, which he sold to John Chaworth. He was a trustee in several of his regiment's purchases but does not seem to have acquired any properties for himself. (E121/1/2/27)

ALDRIDGE, Robert. In 1649 he was commissioned as a captain of horse in the Buckinghamshire militia, and in 1650 he was evidently looking after the timber in Windsor Forest. He bought a parcel of waste ground in Eaton, Buckinghamshire for £9.18.9, 7 January 1651. He, John and Edward Seotton and Richard Southwood were in possession of most of Windsor Great Park, Berkshire and Surrey at the restoration. (CSPD 1649-50, 521; C PD 1650, 477; E121/1/3/30; SP29/22/263)

ALFORD, John, citizen and clothworker of London. Major in Colonel Rich's horse regiment. He and Mathew Jumper bought the Fussells division of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £3,800, 21 May 1656. He bought other land which he sold to Jonathan Prickman, Elias Mauroys, William Cox, John Haysome and Robert Haysome. (E121/3/3/111; C54/3889/38)

ALLEN, Edward, of London, gentleman. Lieutenant in Sir Hardress Waller's foot regiment. Previously he was commissary of provisions and ammunition for the service of north Wales. He and Thomas Baker bought tenements in Alveston, Warwickshire for £888.12.0, 11 May 1659. (E121/1/6/30; E121/3/4/100; E121/5/1/\_)

ALLEN, Francis, of London, citizen and goldsmith. William Dawgs sold him 49 acres in Enfield Chase, Middlesex for £60, Hilary 1658-9 (CP25(2)/575)

ALLEN, Francis, of Oxford, gentleman. Captain of foot in Ingoldshy's regiment. He was one of the 10 purchasers of Ingleby manor, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650. He was one of 10 purchasers of lands in the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. He was one of 11 purchasers of several lands in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. Except for the sale of Dorney House, Surrey to John Dawberne, the properties do not seem to have been partitioned. (E121/3/3/31; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45; E121/3/3/115)

ALSOP, Nathaniel. Richard Creede sold him 280 acres in Kenilworth and Old Park, Warwickshire for £300. Creede sold him and Richard Booth 340 acres in Ruffen, Kenilworth and Honiley, Warwickshire for £250. (CP25(2)/606, Michaelmas, 1656)

ALURED, Mathew, of Walkington, Yorkshire, esquire. Colonel of a northern horse regiment. He bought the manor of Burstall Garth, Yorkshire for £2,136.19.10, 7 February 1651. He bought the manor of Patrington, Yorkshire for £1,272.2.6½, 11 July 1650. (E121/5/5/16; E121/5/5/6) -see p 126

ANDERSON, Robert, of Berwick-on-Tweed, esquire. Captain of foot in Colonel Read's regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain H Ezekiah Hayne's company of foot in Colonel James Holborne's regiment in the earl of Essex's army. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manors of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire and Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½, 17 July 1650. (E121/5/5/5; E121/5/7/18; E121/1/7/57)

ARUNDELL, Thomas, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, gentleman. Jeremiah Talhuret, Abraham Holmes, John Mason, John Topping, Ethelbert Morgan, Francis Nicholls and Nathaniel Strange sold him parcels in Barnsley, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, 22 March 1658. (C54/4003/24)

ASHBY, Elizabeth. She bought Ashby, ater's and Hunt's Farms in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire, for £214.9.0, 19 August 1650. Immediate tenant. (Dd13/20/38/158; Dd8/30/5/7)

ASHBY, Richard, of Bugbrooke, Northamptonshire, gentleman. Captain of horse under Colonel Twisleton. Until 1652 he had been an officer in Fleetwood's regiment. He was one of the four purchasers of Old Enfield Park, Middlesex for £7,519.19.6, 18 February 1652. On 8 October 1652 they sold 44 acres of the Park to Peter Steery for £520. (C54/3676/45; C54/3687/17;)

ASHFIELD, Richard, of Yanworth, Gloucestershire, esquire. Lieutenant Colonel of foot in Major General Ski pon's regiment. He was one of the 10 purchasers of the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Clewer, Berkshire; Corsham, Wiltshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire, for £3,771.12.4<sup>3</sup>, 23 July 1651. (C54/3855/21; E121/5/7/35)

ASKE, Richard, of London, esquire. Allen, Esbery and Clerke sold him 3 tenements and a cottage in the manor of Tinsten, Cornwall for a certain sum', 7 December 1655. (C54/3863/8)

ASKE, Robert, of London, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought a parcel of Theobalds manor, Hertfordshire for £1,289.6.1, 17 September 1650. (E121/2/9/20)

ASPDENWALL, William, of Texteth Park, Lancashire. He bought the manor of Chertsey, Surrey and then sold it to Edward French.

ATKINS, George, of Gravesend, Kent, gentleman. He bought tenements near the Blockhouse in Milton, Kent, for £386.10.0, 11 March 1652. The purchase was made with assigned bills. (E121/2/11/47)

ATKINSON, Robert, of Darley, Yorkshire, gentleman. Lieutenant of a county troop in Cumberland. He was one of the 4 purchasers of the manor of Knaresborough, for £2,680.12.0, 22 November 1651; and of Royalties within the Forest of Knaresborough, Yorkshire, for £240, 24 April 1652. (CSPD 1651-2, 236; E121/5/5/19; E121/5/5/27)

ATWICK, Alice, widow. George Bale bought several parcels of arable in the parish of Egham, Surrey on her behalf for £83.8.4, 30 November 1650. Richard Wheatly bought a tenement in the parish of Chertsey, Surrey on her behalf for £446.18.6<sup>1</sup>, 7 January 1651. (E121/4/8/53, 56)

ATWICK, Sarah, of Chertsey, widow. Richard Wheatly bought land in Chertsey, Surrey on her behalf for £14.5.0, 31 October 1651. (E121/4/8/85)

AUDLEY, Lewis, of Saumerford, Surrey, esquire. A trooper in Major Thomas Harrison's troop, and later a lieutenant to Lord Fairfax's own company and regiment of foot. He bought several messuages near Charing Cross and adjoining to Sootland Yard, Middlesex for £642.19.8, 9 August 1651 (E121/3/4/84)

AUSTIN, Benjamin, of Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, clerk. He and Richard Lloyd bought the manor of Ashton, Northamptonshire for £869.14.6, 23 January 1651. The purchase was made with assigned bills (E121/4/1/50)

AVIS, John. Edward Dendy sold him the manor of Eye Hall and the yearly rent of £20.2.0, issuing out of the Monastery and Priory of t Peters Eye, Suffolk for £460. (CP25(2)/599, Easter 1655)

AWBREY, John, of Reading, Berkshire, gentleman. He had been a gentleman of Thomas Fairfax's lifeguard, and later became captain of a troop under Colonel Edward Ceely's and Colonel FitzJames's regiments. He bought a parcel of ground belonging to the castle of Exeter, Devon, for £960, 21 May 1652. He also bought the manor of Mere, Wiltshire for £8,393.0.7, 17 February 1651. He and Rachel, his wife, sold John Kinge 87 acres in Mere for £100. He sold William Clement the profits of the weekly market and 3 fairs kept in the town of Mere. He conveyed to Colonel Ceely, one of the officers who constituted Awbrey their attorney, several closes and tenements within the manor of Mere. (E121/1/6/4; E121/2/2/48; E121/5/3/12; CP25(2)/608, Michaelmas 1651; C54/3888/5; C54/3744/41)

AXTELL, Daniel. Major of foot in Colonel Hewson's regiment. At the restoration he was reported to be in possession of the park and demesne lands of the honor of Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire. (E121/3/3/110; Crest 6/1/14)

AYRE, Samuel, esquire. Thomas Wagstaff sold him 373 acres in Rudfen, Warwickshire for £240, Easter 1652. (CP25(2)/605)

BARINGTON, Thomas, of London, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Rich. Before 1645 he had been captain of horse in Lord Grey's regiment in Leicestershire, and a major of horse in Colonel Waight's regiment in Barleigh Garrison, Rutlandshire. He bought parcels in Eltham, the manor of East Greenwich, and the Maiscondieu of Dover, Kent; and several messuages in Chester, for £3,655.12.9, 16 August 1653. He sold the properties in Kent to Lieutenant Francis Rawson, Quartermaster Thomas Kidder, George Paler, John Cave and Thomas Taveley. (C54/3740/13; C54/3740/10; C54/3855/7; C54/3776/20; E121/2/11/19)

BABINGTON, Richard, of London, gentleman. He and Thomas Griffyn bought several houses belonging to Greenwich House, Kent for £979.3.0, 15 February 1653 (E121/2/11/56)

BACHILER, George, of London, turner. He and Edward Southes bought Eaton manor, Berkshire for £1,290.9.10, 24 September 1651. They later sold 2 farms in Eaton to Ruth Bell for £500. (E121/1/2/36; C54/3647/53)

BACKWELL, Edward, of London, citizen and goldsmith. He bought a parcel of Hampton Court, Middlesex for £5,110.17.0, 15 November 1653. However in 1654 the council of state bought it back from him for £6,202.17.0. He also bought from John Backwell 250 acres of Higham Park, Northamptonshire, without the timber, for £1,420, 20 October 1654. (E121/3-4/136; C PD 1653-4, 408-9; CSPD 1654, 18; C54/3796/9)

BACKWELL, John, of Marsh, Hertfordshire, gentleman. William Rainborow sold him 250 acres in Higham Park, Northamptonshire, without the timber, for £1400, 23 May 1654. He then sold the same property to Edward Backwell for £1,420, 20 October 1654. (C54/3791/9; C54/3796/9)

BACON, John, of York, gentleman. Cornet to Captain Robert Legard's troop. Previously he had been reformado in Captain alter Bethell's and Colonel Hugh Bethell's troops. He and John Bethell bought King's Wood, Oxfordshire and sold it to William Le Hunt and Richard Wallopp. (E121/4/3/17)

BACON, William, of Paul in Covent Garden, Middlesex. He bought the Three Bells in the Strand for £224, 24 April 1650. The purchase was made with assigned bills (E121/3/4/1)

BADBY, Edward, esquire. Tynothie Baldwyn and Seignior Bowman bought ironworks called the orge in the disafforested forest of t Leonards, Sussex, on behalf of Badby for £2,742.12.8, 11 July 1659. (E121/4/9/\_)

BADGELL, Eustace, of Lyons Inn, Middlesex, gentleman. He bought the office of water bailiff, Devon on Behalf of the mayor, bailiff and burgesses of Dartmouth, Devon, for £213.6.8, 23 December 1650. (E121/2/2/22)

**BAKER, Thomas**, of London, gentleman. He and Noah Bankes bought lands and tenements in Cold Higham, Northamptonshire for £832.7.6, 12 March 1652. He bought 2 parcels called Harts Croft and Birch Croft, Sussex for £51, 5 August 1653. He and Edward Allen bought tenements in Alveston, arwickshire for £888.12.0. He and Thomas Ozell bought the Bailiwick of Boroughbridge, Yorkshire for £333.14.0, 16 May 1657. He bought the manor of Pury, Northamptonshire and the manor of Balls Meade, Kent for £22.18.4, 17 June 1653. He and Ralph Knowles bought the royalties, views of frankpledges and turns to be held yearly within the duchy liberty, arwickshire for £96. (n.d.) All the purchases were made with assigned bills. (E121/4/1/77; E121/4/9/107; E121/5/1/\_; E121/5/5/42; E121/5/7/91; E121/5/1/45)

**BALDWIN, Robert**, of Gloucester, esquire. He was one of the 6 purchasers of the manors of Groomont, White Castle, and Skenfrith, Monmouthshire, and the abbey house in Burnham, Buckinghamshire for £3,334.12.3, 18 July 1650. They later sold the manors in Monmouthshire to John Nicholas for £1,600, 1 March 1652. (E121/5/7/21; C54/3643/34)

**BALDWIN, Tynothie**, of London, Doctor of Law. He and Seignior Bowman bought ironworks called the Forge in the dis-afforested forest of St Leonards, Sussex for £2,742.12.8, 11 July 1659. (E121/4/9/\_)

**BALE, George**, of Egham, Surrey, gentleman. He bought several parcels of arable land in the parish of Egham, Surrey, for £83.8.4, 30 November 1650. He was the immediate tenant. He also bought another parcel of Egham for £52.7.8, 29 October 1650. (E121/4/8/53; E121/4/8/51)

**BALL, Peter**, esquire. Lieutenant General Charles Fleetwood sold him and Nathaniell Stirrup the honor and park of oodstock, Oxfordshire, the manor of Methwold and Stockton Soodon, Norfolk, together with some other manors he had bought from the treason trustees, for £960, Trinity 1652. Ball and Stirrup may simply have been Fleetwood's trustees. (CP25(2)/616)

**BALL, William**, of Petersham, Surrey, gentleman. He and John Pierson bought the manor of Petersham and Ham, Surrey for £1,181.18.0, 20 May 1650. They were immediate tenants. (E121/4/8/4)

**BALLATT, illiam**, of ells, Somerset, gentleman. John Dove and alter Bockland sold him and Thomas White a tenement and 45 acres in the manor of Shepton Mallet, Somerset for £200, 6 December 1652. (C54/3685/16)

**BAMFIELD, John**, of Hardington, Somerset, esquire. He bought the manor of Laverton, Somerset for £2,491.19.5, 15 November 1651. He was an immediate tenant. (E121/4/5/87)

**BANKES, George**, of London, grocer. He and Noah Bankes bought Tenements in West Ham, Essex, for £60.10.0, 2 May 1650. (E121/2/5/3)

**BANKES, Noah**, of St James Clerkenwell, Middlesex, gentleman. He and George Bankes bought tenements in est Ham, Essex for £60.10.0, 2 May 1650. He and Thomas Baker bought lands and tenements in Cold Higham, Northamptonshire for £832.7.6, 12 March 1652. (E121 2 5/3; E121/4/1/77)

**BANKES, Thomas**. He and 10 others bought lands in Spalding, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. (E121/3/3/115)

**BARBER, John, of Hertford, gentleman.** He was a major in Skippon's foot regiment. Previously, he had been captain of foot in the earl of Manchester's army, and major to the regiment of horse under the command of Colonel Alban Cox in Hertfordshire. He bought Wheeler's Lands in Surrey for £291.9.6, 14 September 1650. (E121/4/8/33)

**BARKER, Henry, of London, Chirurgeon.** He bought a parcel of the manor of Epworth, Lincolnshire for £485, 4 June 1650. He was the immediate tenant. (E121/3/3/8)

**BARKER, John, of Netherton, Somerset, esquire.** A captain in Thomas Harrison's horse regiment. Lieutenant William Gough conveyed to him 'for a competent sume' the New Brick Lodge and 58 acres on the south west side of Marylebone Park, Middlesex, 24 March 1653. (C54 3712 1)

**BARKER, Richard, of Oxford, gentleman.** A lieutenant of foot in Captain Messervy's company and Richard Ingoldsby's regiment. He was one of the ten purchasers of 1) Ingleby Manor, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650; 2) a parcel of the Forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653; and 3) Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. He was also one of the eleven purchasers of several lands in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. On 20 December 1653 they sold Dorney House to Captain Dawberne for £182, + t e restoration gleby was in Ingoldsby's posshes ion! (E121/3/3/31; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45; E121/3/3/115; C54/3789/14)

**BARKSTRAD, John, of London, goldsmith.** A colonel of foot and later lieutenant of the Tower of London. Previously he had been governor of the garrison of Reading. He was one of the six purchasers of 1) tenements near the Tower of London for £3,556.6.3, 25 June 1658; and 2) the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £12,583.5.3½, 20 September 1650. The six purchasers sold the manor of Sayes Court to Francis Stanton, John Batersby, tephem Kirke, Robert Harbin and Martin Noell for £5,940, 25 February 1652. Excepted from this sale was a lease of part of the premises made to Robert tanton for 51 years at a yearly rent of £500. They also sold illiam Peters and Edward Hall the Great Barn in Deptford, parcel of the manor of Sayes Court, for 500, on 25 January 1652. On 20 July 1659 they sold Nathaniel Mathew some tenements near Tower Hill for £200. (E121/2/11/23; E121/3/4/151; C54/3643/23; C54/3644/36; C54/4034/16)

**BARLOW, Mathew, of London, citizen and merchant taylor.** He bought a parcel of the Bailiwick of St James in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields for £1,019.6.0, 18 March 1653. The purchase was made with assigned bills. (E121/3/4/116)

**BARNARDISTON, Arthur, of Colchester, Essex, esquire.** John Reynor sold him and five others the moiety of the manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex for £770, on 21 September 1651. (C54/3618/19)

**BARNES, Gabriell, of Honiton, Devon, gentleman.** Lieutenant colonel of foot in the garrison of Plymouth. Arthur Gorges and Thomas Saunders sold him several parcels of the manor of Bradninch, Devon, for £1,222 and in performance of a trust reposed in them by Barnes and other officers and soldiers, 26 september 1656. (C54/3914/26)

**BARRETT, Charles**, of Bramhill, Wiltshire, gentleman. He bought the Upper Lodge division of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £899.15.6, on 19 November 1656. (E121/5/3/43)

**BARROWS, Thomas**, of London, skinner. He bought the manor of Potterspury, Northamptonshire for £1,051.1.8, on 11 March 1651. The purchase was made with assigned bills. (E121/4/1/55)

**BARRY, Samuel**. Captain of horse under Sir Robert Pye. Previously he had been a gentleman of the earl of Essex's lifeguard. Then he had been a lieutenant in Captain James Hopton's troop in Sir Arthur Hesilrig's regiment in William Waller's army. He and Jon Pecke bought Bagshot Park, Surrey for £3,911.6.5, 16 January 1651. He also acquired part of Windsor Great Park by marrying John Ryfield's widow. (E121/4/8/57; CSPD 1660-1, 286.)

**BARTHOLOMEW, Thomas**, of Shepperton, Middlesex, yeoman. He bought a messuage and lands in the parish of Egham, Surrey for £191.19.4½, 6 November 1650. (E121/4/8/52)

**BARTON, Nathaniel**, of Derbyshire, esquire. He was a major in Adrian Seroop's horse regiment. Previously he had been captain of horse in Sir John Gell's regiment of horse in Derbyshire. On 2 March 1650 the council of state appointed him commander in chief of horse and foot in Derbyshire. He was one of the 7 purchasers of 1) the manor and castle of Tutbury, Staffordshire for £3,245.7.6, 30 June 1652; 2) several coppices in the manor of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £7,187.16.4, 25 June 1652; and 3) the honor, manor and castle of Kenilworth, the manor of Wootton, Hogg Park, Old Park, Castle Hills Park, The Chase, the Royal Fishing, and several water grist mills, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire, for £18,775.3.9, 30 July 1651. (E121/4/6/101; E121/5/1/2; E121/5/1/16; E121/4/6/8; CSPD 1650, 504)

**BARWICK, Robert**, of Skelton, Yorkshire, gentleman. He was a cornet to Captain Weldon's and then Captain Wilkinson's troops in Bethell's regiment. Previously Barwick had been a corporal in Sir Henry Fowley's and Captain Longe's troops, quartermaster to Captain Long's troop, and then cornet to Captain Weldon's and Captain Wilkinson's troops in Bethell's regiment. He was one of the three purchasers of leaseholds of the manor of Rosedale, Yorkshire for £2,907.19.11, 15 June 1650. (E121/5/5/1; CP25(2)/614; Yorkshire, Easter 1654.)

**BARWICK, William**, of the city of York, esquire. He and John Cleyton bought the manor of Edmonton, Middlesex and then sold it to John Hoxton.

**BATEMAN, Roger**, of Hutton in the Parish of Kendal, Westmorland, gentleman. He bought a coal mine within the lordship of Casterton, Westmorland, 12 February 1657, for £48. (E121/5/2/46)

**BATEMAN, William**, of Westminster, gentleman. He and Samuel Nash bought Widcombe Farm, Somerset, as immediate tenants, for £497.10.0, 12 December 1651. (E121/4/5/88)

**BAYLES, Nicholas**, of London, fishmonger. He bought the Christopher Messuage in Eaton, Buckinghamshire, for £188.3.2½, 12 January 1652. (E121/1/3/32)

**BAYLY, John**, of Chertsey, Surrey, yeoman. He bought Ampners Barns, Surrey as an immediate tenant for £382.1.8, 1 August 1650. (E121/4/8/24)

**BAYLY, John**, of Lookton, Yorkshire, yeoman. Adam and Joseph Kyre sold him and two other Yorkshire yeomen meadow and pasture ground in the East division of Blandsby Park, Yorkshire, for £500, 26 March 1655. (C54/3835/7)

**BAYLY, Mathew**, gentleman. He bought several messuages, cottages and lands in the parish of Hardington, Northamptonshire, as an immediate tenant, for £36.1.8, 31 October 1651. (E121/4/1/70)

**BAYNES, Adam**, of Knowthorpe, Yorkshire, esquire. Captain in Major-General Lambert's regiment. He was the financial agent for Lambert's and other northern regiments after the second civil war. Previously he had been captain of foot in Lord Ferdinando Fairfax's regiment, and then captain of horse in the regiments of Lord Ferdinando Fairfax and Christopher Copley. He was directly involved, as agent, trustee or purchaser, in 12 purchases of crown land worth £72,228. The most valuable was Holdenby House and Park, Northamptonshire, which he bought for himself for £22,299.6.10. 23 September 1650. On 6 May 1651 he sold Anne Lilburne, the widow of Colonel Henry Lilburne, 166 acres of the 500 acre Park for £1,940. On 11 March 1653 he sold Thomas Oylfe 248 acres of the Park for £1,080, with possession of the land to begin after the expiration of a lease in 1664. In 1652 he had sold another 19 acres to Henry Harthorne for £41. During Michaelmas 1657 he conveyed 912 acres in Holdenby, and the yearly rent of £62.1.10 from the manor of Leeds and Humden in Leeds to Christopher Clapham, Fabian Phillipps, John and Robert Baynes, William Dawson and John Stable. However Baynes was still in possession of Holdenby at the restoration. He, Lieutenant-Colonel William Goodrick and Colonel Thomas Hookby bought the manor of Richmond, Surrey for £13,562.0.6, 31 August 1650. They subsequently sold the bakehouse at Richmond to Abraham Tuffnaye, a London salter, for £48. Henry and John Carter of Richmond got several lands excepting 'the pile of stone building covered with lead', for £560. Humphrey Edwards got most of the manor except for a few messuages and the stone building covered with lead for £2,490. Presumably Baynes, Goodrick and Hookby planned to dispose of the stone building and its lead, but a record of the sale has not been found. Baynes purchased the manor of Imbledon, Surrey, on behalf of Major General Lambert for £16,825.17.8. He also bought quit rents and other revenues in the Honor of Clitheroe, Lancashire, for £6,853.16.1 1/3. He appears to have resold most if not all of this purchase. Christopher Skepper and John Hodgson got the yearly rent payable from the copyhold tenants of Pendle Forest, for £2,638. Aitor toddert got the yearly rent payable out of the Chase of Rossendale, for £2,907.10.10. William Farrer got the manor of Acorrington, also part of the honor of Clitheroe, for an unknown sum. Another of Baynes's purchases was the manor of Pickering, Yorkshire, for which he paid £6,730.14.10½, 16 March 1652. He sold several parcels of meadow ground in the manor to Thomas Taylor and Samuel Mason for £2,278.5.3. He sold four soldiers, William Michell, John Troutbeck, Dennis Pepper, and Richard Isdome the manors of Pickering and Scalby, Yorkshire, for £3,018.4.1½. In a separate purchase Baynes had also bought some small parcels in the honor of Pickering for £236.13.4, 16 June 1652. He later sold the manor House in Bampton, and several parcels, all in the honor of Pickering, to Thomas Devile, for £166.10.0. Baynes used Colonel Mauleverer's debenture to buy the manor of Irksworth, Derbyshire, for £851.11.5½, 31 August 1650. He later conveyed it to William Michell, 1 April 1655. He purchased the Herbage of Sheriff Hutton Park and Kippax Meadows, Yorkshire on behalf of Lambert for £1,668.9.4½, 18 August 1651. He also served as agent in the purchases of the manor of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, the manor of Florence, Pembrokeshire, and the honor of Bonon Hagnett and Peverell in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. (E121/4/1/30; C54 3636 39; C54/3671/1; CP25(2)/581, Trinity, 1652; CP25(2)/617, Michaelmas 1657; Add. 21,427/291; E121 4 8/37; C54/3582/8; C54/3677/17; C54/3586/13; E121/4/8/30; C54/3677/29; E121/3/1 57;



C54/3666/22; C54/3758/31; C54/3759/14; E121/5/5/28; C54/3664/18; C54/3749/32; E121/5/5/39; C54/3752/23; E121/2/1/11; C54/3879/15; E121/5/5/18; E121/1/1/19; E121/5/6/88; E121/5/7/79)

**BAYNES, Jeremy**, of Southwark, Surrey, esquire. He bought the Ranger's division in Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £860.2.6, 2 February 1654. He later sold it to Gobert Sikes for £840. (E121/5/3/36; C54/3953/7)

**BAYNES, John**. A cornet and a cousin of Adam Baynes, he transacted a good deal of business on Adam's behalf in the north of England and in Scotland during the 1650's, chiefly in connection with debentures and crown land. Previously he had been a serjeant in Captain Boswell's company of foot under Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, then ensign to Captain Adam Baynes and Captain Charles Fairfax, and finally trooper and cornet under Captain Adam Baynes and Ferdinando Fairfax. At that time he also held the position of deputy master master for Yorkshire. In Michaelmas 1657 Adam Baynes conveyed to him, Robert Baynes, Christopher Clapham, Fabian Phillipps, William Dawson and John Stable, 912 acres in Holdenby, and the yearly rent of £62.1.10 from the manor of Leeds and Hunsden, in Leeds, Yorkshire. The conveyance appears to have been a trust. (E121/4/8/30; CP25(2)/617)

**BAYNES, Robert**. A captain in Lambert's horse regiment. In Michaelmas 1657 Adam Baynes conveyed to him, John Baynes, Christopher Clapham, Fabian Phillipps, William Dawson and John table, 912 acres in Holdenby and the yearly rent of £62.1.10 issuing out of the manor of Leeds, and Hunsden in Leeds, Yorkshire. The conveyance appears to have been a trust. (CP25(2)/617)

**BEALE, Thomas**, esquire. Captain, apparently under Colonel Scroop. Previously he had been quartermaster to the draught horses in the train of artillery under the earl of Essex. He and 3 others bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £2,411.19.8, 1 April 1652. (E121/3/3/78)

**BEALE, William**, of Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire, gentleman. He bought two parks in the Forest of Alice Holt, Hampshire as an original creditor for £1,747.6.8, 11 May 1654 (E121/2/7/113)

**BEEBY, Robert**, of Rushden, Northamptonshire, fellmonger. He bought tenements and land in Chelveston, Northamptonshire for £377.7.10½, 4 May 1650. He was the immediate tenant. (E121/4/1/2)

**BEERE, Thomas**, of Halstock, Dorset, yeoman. John Warr sold him and William his son a copyheld messuage in the manor of Ryne Intrinsic, Dorset, for £40, 30 January 1660 (C54/4044/32)

**BEESCOWEN, Charles**, of the Inner Temple, London, gentleman. He and William Braddon bought the honor and manor of Trematon, Cornwall and Devon, for £1,499.4.1, 18 March 1651. (E121/5/7/44)

**BELL, Ruth**, of Eatonwicks in the parish of Eaton, Buckinghamshire. Edward Southes and George Bachiler sold her Saddock's Farm and Mustian's Farm in the parish of Eaton, Buckinghamshire, for £500. 31 May 1652. (C54/3647/53)

**BELL, William**, of Westminster, esquire. He bought a shed or shop called the Conduithed in King Street, Westminster, for £20, 13 February 1657. (E121/3/4/147)

**BENHAM, Robert**, of Chertsey, yeoman. Benjamin Edmonds bought a messuage and coppice grounds in Chertsey, Surrey on behalf of himself and Benham for £117.18.4½, 23 April 1651. (E121/4/8/72)

**BENNETT, Robert**, of Lawhitton, Cornwall, esquire. He was colonel of a regiment of foot in Cornwall. Previously he had been captain of foot in Sir John Banfield's and Sir Samuel Roll's regiments, a colonel of foot in Devon, treasurer and commissary of musters in Major General Massey's brigade and colonel of a regiment of foot in Cornwall and captain of foot in the garrison of the Mount and Dennis Fort in Cornwall. He bought the manors of Tintagel and Helston, Cornwall for £1,647.11.11½ 2/7, 1 August, 1650. He bought the honor of Launceston, Cornwall for £1,376.5.9, 20 March 1651. (E121/1/6/17; E121/1/6/45)

**BENNING, Richard**, of London, merchant. He and Blount Sadler bought, with assigned bills, several lands, tenements, courts and royalties within the Chase of Bowland, Yorkshire and Lancashire, for £2,429.4.2, 24 February 1653. For £139.11.6, and in pursuance of a Chancery decree they conveyed most of this land to Clement Toulson, 25 April 1659. (E121/5/5/34; C54/4024/29)

**BENSON, George**, junior of Tobester, Northamptonshire. On 2 April 1650 he was commissioned as major of horse in Northamptonshire. He bought a parcel of the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire, as an immediate tenant, for £78.18.4. (C PD 1650, 505; E121/4/1/46)

**BERRY, James**, of Lincoln, esquire. Major of horse in Philip Wisleton's regiment. Previously he had been Captain Lieutenant of Oliver Cromwell's troop in Manchester's army, and then captain of horse in Colonel Rossiter's regiment in the same army. Godfrey Ellis sold him and William Evanson half the lands in the manor of Bowdley, Worcestershire which Ellis and Yarranton had bought from the crown trustees, for £440, 19 September 1655. On 29 June 1655 Izod, Walls, Coale, and Foster sold Berry, Deane, Cambridge, Harris, Munns and Boole part of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire, for £5,400.2.4. The property formed part of the regimental purchases of Colonel Wisleton's regiment. (E121/3/3/113; C54/3843/21; C54/3872/5)

**BEST, Drew**, of Stratford, Bow, Middlesex, brewer. He bought some tenements in East Ham, Essex as an immediate tenant for £237.5.8, 18 June 1650. (E121/2/5/5)

**BETHELL, Hugh**. Colonel of a northern regiment of horse. Previously he had been captain of foot in Sir John Rotham's regiment, captain lieutenant to Colonel Sir Francis Boynton's troop, captain of horse in the Lord Willoughby's and Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiments, and serjeant-major to Sir William Constable's regiment. He submitted a debenture for £1,657.4.6½ towards the purchase of the manors of Fosdike and Bewsolas, Lancashire, and Hempholme, Yorkshire, for £3,314.9.1, 13 September 1650. The manor of Hempholme was evidently his share of the purchase. Since he had been 'very instrumental in His Majesty's happy restoration' he was allowed to keep the property at a low rent. (E121/5/7/29; Calendar of Treasury Books vii, part iii, 1617).

**BETHELL, John**. Major under Colonel Hugh Bethell. He and John Bacon bought the King's Woods, Oxfordshire, for £3,450.15.5, 26 June 1650. He died some time before 25 March 1653, on which date Bacon sold the property to two London lawyers, William Lelham and Richard Wallopp. (E121/4/3/17; C54/3720/42)

BICKERSTAFFE, Anthony, of London, skinner. He bought Pannishill Farm, Surrey as an immediate tenant for £239.16.2, 22 May 1650. (E121/4/8/6)

BIRCH, Thomas, of Birch, Lancashire, esquire, colonel. He and Jeremiah Whitworth bought rents of as ise, and perquisites and profits of courts within the wapentake of Salford, Lancashire, for £1,103.9.8 with assigned bills, 14 November 1653. On 27 December 1650 George Vaux sold him and Thomas Fell the manor of Haslingden, Lancashire, part of the honor of Clitheroe, for £350. Vaux had originally paid £1,005.5.5. (E121/3/1/124; C54/3527/7; E121/3/1/54)

BIRD, William, of Bristol, gentleman. For a competent sum William Marford sold him half the manor of Midsomer Norton, Somerset, 18 August 1653. The original price for the whole manor had been £3,066.6.8. (C54/3713/14; E121/4/5/86)

BISCOE, John, of Chesham, Buckinghamshire. Major in John Barkstead's regiment of foot. Previously he had been lieutenant of foot in Captain Tyle's company in Colonel Hampden's regiment in Essex's army. Then he had been captain of foot under Colonel Tyrrell, also in Essex's army, and later, captain of foot under Colonel Lambert. He was one of the 7 Purchasers of the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £12,583.5.3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, 20 September 1650. They later sold most of it to Francis Stanton, John Petersby, Stephen Kirke, Martin Noell and Robert Harbinn. William Peters and Edward Hall got the Great Barne and 64 acres of pasture. (E121/2/11/23; C54/3643/3; C54/3644/36)

BISHOPP, George. He and Samuel Clark bought St John's Wood, Buckinghamshire as original creditors for £622.10.0, 17 July 1650. (D48/30/4/1; D413/20/10/44)

BLACKFORD, Richard, of Dorchester, Dorset, gentleman. Captain of horse in Dorset. He had previously been one of the lifeguard to the earl of Essex and to lord Fairfax. He bought the manor of Langton, Lincolnshire on behalf of Vincent Potter for £1,368.12.1, 26 November 1650. (E121/3/3/49)

BLACKBOURNE, Robert, gentleman. He was Valentine Walton's agent in the purchase of the manor of Somersham, Huntingdonshire for £19,885.14.0, 5 May 1652, and the manor of Crowland, Lincolnshire for £3,160.0.8. 25 November 1650. (E121/2/10/49; E121/3/3/46)

BLACKLEY, James, of the town of Cambridge. He was a major and late governor of Crowland, Lincolnshire. He bought the honor of Clare and Richmond in Huntingdonshire, Essex, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire for £1,683.2.7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, 29 June 1650. (E121/5/7/7)

BLACKMORE, John. Major of horse in Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment. At the restoration he and George Wickett were in possession of about 60 acres in Windsor Great Park, Surrey. (Reg. Hist., 1, 202; Crest 6/1/28-9)

BLACKWELL, John, junior, of Mortlake, Surrey, esquire. Captain of horse in Oliver Cromwell's own regiment. Previously he had been a cornet under Captain Juxon in Colonel Harvey's horse regiment in Essex's army. He bought the manor house and demesnes of the manor of Egham, Surrey for £2,004.17.0, 18 September 1650. He also bought the manor of Egham from Thomas Richardson for £500, 25 October 1650. Richardson had originally paid £1,201.5.4 for the manor. He sold 15 acres of woodground in the parish of Egham to Edward King, and then they both sold the property to William Greene, for £100. Blackwell was also evidently involved in the manor of Imbleton, for he sold a messuage and two small parcels in the manor to his father for £9 on 24 March 1654. In Trinity 1658 he, John

Lambert and Adam Baynes sold 41 acres of the manor in Mortlake to John East for £120. (E121/4/8/35; C54/3548/27; C54/3945/21; C54/3794/16; CP25(2)/602)

BLAND, Edward. He and John Knight bought several parcels of the manors of Aldrington and Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire, as immediate tenants, on behalf of themselves and 12 others, for £979. 5. 6, 12 March 1651. (E121/4/1/61)

BLETHEN, Francis, of Newport, Monmouthshire, esquire. Captain of foot in Lambert's regiment. Previously he had been captain of foot in Colonel Mountague's regiment in Manchester's army. He was one of the 6 purchasers of the manor of Wendy, Monmouthshire for £2,411.5.10½, 26 August 1650. He was also one of the 6 purchasers of the manors of Oysterlow, Train-a-March and Trayn-Morgan, Carmarthenshire; the fishing of Gylgarron to Cardigan Bridge, and lands in the parish of Hodgeston, Pembrokeshire, for £2,237.19.8. 30 May 1651. (E121/5/7/52; E121/3/5/32; E121/5/6/51)

BLIGHE, Henry, of St Germans parish, Cornwall, gent. He bought Landreyn manor, Cornwall with assigned bills for £984.6.8, 7 August 1650. (E121/1/6/18)

BLOUNT, Samuel, of London, sadler. He bought tenements in the Strand, Middlesex with assigned bills for £722, 21 May 1650. (E121/3/4/3)

BLOUNT, Thomas, of Writtlemarsh, Kent, esquire. He bought Hughes Tenements in the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, for £143.14.11, 24 July 1654. Robert Tichborne sold him several parcels in the parishes of Lewisham, Kidbrooke and Charleton, Kent, for a certain competent sum and in performance of an agreement. Blount was already in occupation of about half the parcels. For a certain competent sum John Caitnes sold him 24 acres in the manor of Eltham, Kent. (E121/2/11 58; C54/3610/22; C54/3771/46)

BLYTH, Walter. Captain. He bought sundry messuages and lands in the honor of Grafton, Northamptonshire with assigned bills for £339.3.4. 19 March 1651. A tenement and lands in Potterspury were also bought on his behalf by Edward Southes for £320.6.0 20 January 1651. Blyth also bought and sold other soldiers's debentures worth £586.7.2. These debentures were involved in eight purchases of crown land. (E121/4/1/62; E121/1/2/25; E121/1/2/36; E121/4/1/48; E121/2/5/7; E121/2/9/39; E121/3/3/42; E121/4/1/80; E121/4/8/40)

BOCKLAND, Walter, of Trotton, Sussex, esquire. John Dove conveyed him half the manor of Shepton Mallet, Somerset because he had paid half the purchase price of £2,200, 4 December 1652. He and Dove then sold 45 acres in the manor to Thomas White and William Ballatt for £200. (C54/3687/39; C54/3685/16)

BODLEY, Christopher, of London, gentleman. Trooper in Commissary General Ireton's regiment, and Captain Henry Pretty's troop. Previously he had been a trooper under Captain Gould in the Earl of Stamford's Brigade in the West, and then a trooper in Captain Braddon's troop at Plymouth. He bought the manor of Chevening, Kent, for £258.1.3, 26 June 1650, and then sold it to Henry Johnson for £361.11.1¼, in bills and £20 in cash. He also bought lands and tenements in the parishes of Bexhill and Hooe, Sussex in two separate purchases for £561 and £313.10.0, 30 April 1652, and 8 June 1657. In Easter 1656 he sold 47 acres to Giles Horsington, and in Trinity 1657 he and Horsington sold Michael Pendleton various lands for £100. Bodley also bought messuages in Helsham for £333. (E121/4/9/97; E121/2/11/5; E121/4/9/122; C54/3619/8; CP25(2)/604; 1 3)

**BOEVE, James**, of London, merchant. He bought the manor of Exmore in Somerset and Devon for £32, 9 July 1655. On 20 August 1653 Joseph Strange conveyed him Exmore Chase in Somerset and Devon. Strange had paid £7,417.14.6 for Exmore Chase. On 17 August 1653 Boeve conveyed 3978 acres of the chase to John Smyth, a London merchant. On 30 January 1656 in pursuance of an agreement Smyth granted him 7266 acres and another 978 acres of Exmore Forest in Somerset and Devon in return for a yearly rent of £130 to be paid by Boeve. In Trinity 1657 John Smyth conveyed Boeve [blank in original] thousand acres of furze and heath and 1,000 acres of marsh in Exmore and all manner of tithes for £400.  
 Note: Exmore Forest was not sold under the act of 17 July 1649. (E121/5/7/119; C54/3714/34; C54/3760/8; C54/3868/2; CP25(2)/593)

**BOLTON, John**. George Vaux sold him the manor of Dacies or Croshbrooke in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, for £120, Easter 1656. (CP25(2)/559)

**BONETT, Richard**, of Taunton, Somerset, esquire. Lieutenant colonel of foot under Colonel Pyne in Somerset. Previously he had been captain of foot in Colonel Alexander Popham's foot regiment. He bought the manor of Milton Falconbridge, Somerset for £7,151.8.2, 9 April 1651. (E121/4/5/67)

**BONICH, Nathaniel**, of London, gentleman. The agent for Colonel Hewson's regiment. He, Daniel Henchman and Humphrey Jones bought quit rents and other revenues in the manor of High Peak, Derbyshire, for £1,496.5.0, 4 December 1650. Bonich, Henchman and Jones also bought High Peak manor for £800.6.8. 14 August 1652. They later conveyed the manor and the revenues to John Okey and William Crofts in trust for Hewson's regiment. Bonich, Henchman and Jones bought the manor of Widnes, Lancashire, for £1,083.19.0, 24 October 1650. This manor was also conveyed to Okey and Crofts, with the consent of the men of Colonel Hewson's regiment. Bonich, Henchman, Jones and John Grosvenor also bought the manor of Stradbroke and Stuboroft, Suffolk, for £1,929.16.10½, 28 October 1650. There was apparently no subsequent conveyance of this property. (E121/2/1/18; E121/2/1/49; C54/3919/30; E121/3/1/45; C54/3897/25; E121/4/7/50)

**BOOLE, Timothy**, of Stamford, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Cornet in Colonel Twisleton's regiment. For £5,400.2.4 he, Berry, Cambridge, Deane, Marris and Munns received part of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire as their share of the regimental purchases of Twisleton's regiment 29 June 1655. (C54/3872/5)

**BOOTHE, Anthony**, gentleman. The manor of Macolesfield, Cheshire was bought on behalf of him and Samuel Rowe for £634.17.4, 18 March 1653. (E121/1/5/67)

**BOOTHE, Richard**, gentleman. Richard Creede sold him and Nathaniell Alsopp 340 acres in Kenilworth, Honiley and Rudfen, Warwickshire, for £260, Michaelmas 1656. (CP25(2)/606)

**BOUGHTON, Richard**, of Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, husbandman. He and John Buncher bought a parcel of the honor of Grafton, Northamptonshire for £316.11.8, 16 June 1651. The purchase was made with assigned bills. (E121/4/1/67)

**BOURNE, Edmond**, of Pendennis, Cornwall, gentleman. Cornet under Captain Cozens in the garrison of Plymouth. Previously he had been ensign of foot under Captain Cozens. He bought the manors of Porther Prior, Austell Prior, Trevennen and Tregameere, in Cornwall for £2,840.18.5, 13 July 1650 (E121/1/6/14)

**BOURNE**, Richard, of Berwick-on-Tweed, gentleman. He was one of the 17 purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland for £10,320.18.5½. 7 February 1652. However he was not mentioned as one of the grantors when the manor was subsequently conveyed to four other purchasers. Bourne was also one of the 11 purchasers of 1) the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire, for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650; and 2) the manors of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire, and Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½, 17 July 1650. (E121/1/7/57; C54/3835/29; E121/5/5/5; E121/5/7/18)

**BOWEN**, Griffith, of Swansea, gentleman. Philip Jones sold him lands in the parishes of St Mary in Pembroke, and Carew and Hodgeston in Pembrokeshire, for £524, 30 May 1654. The land was already in the tenure of Bowen. (C54/3771/8)

**BOWEN**, Maurice, of London, esquire. For a competent sum James Sinnock sold him and Anne his wife Sinnock's fifth part of the manors of Clewer, Berkshire and Burwell, Cambridgeshire 7 March 1656. James Harrison also sold Bowen his fifth part of the manors of Clewer and Burwell 2 January 1654. (C54/3890/38; C54/3744/18)

**BOWEN**, William, gentleman. Humphrey Edwards and Henry Norton sold him and Charles Lovell 3 acres in St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, 215 acres in Greens-Morton and Whittlebury, Northamptonshire, and orchards, gardens, etc. in East Ham, Essex, for 500, Trinity 1658. (CP25(2)/617)

**BOWES**, Robert, of London, gentleman. He and William Chase bought the manor house of Hardwich, Surrey as immediate tenants for £1,476.0.8, 2 August 1650. (E121/4/8/21)

**BOWMAN**, Seighmor, of Salisbury, Wiltshire, gentleman. He and Timothy Baldwyn bought Ironworks called the Forge in the d.f.s.-afforested forest of St Leonards, Sussex for £2,742.12.8, 11 July 1659. (E121/4/9/—)

**BOYCE**, Hannah, of London, widow. She bought tenements in Michaels Lane, London with assigned bills for £200, 14 May 1650. (E121/3/4/4)

**BOYS**, Edward, of Uffington, Kent, gentleman. John Umlin sold him rents of £8.16.0 from the manor of Ingham, Kent, in performance of a covenant, 16 June 1657. (C54/3958/27)

**BOYSE**, Robert, of London, gentleman. Edward Dendy sold him and James Rice several parcels in Rye, Suffolk for £291.10.0, 7 November 1652. (C54/3699/7)

**BRAYDON**, William, of Stoke Climsland, Cornwall, gentleman. Captain of foot in Colonel Ralph Weldon's regiment in the garrison of Plymouth. Previously he had been a quartermaster and cornet of horse under Captain Moore, and captain-lieutenant and captain of a troop in the same regiment. He bought Calstock manor, Cornwall for £1,044.5.5 3/8, 12 July 1650. He bought the manor of Venterdon, Cornwall for £477.11.9, 28 June 1658. He bought Blythes Farm in the manor of Treworrey, Cornwall for £785.3.0, 14 July 1651. He bought the borough of Lidford, Devon for £97.17.4, 16 November 1650. He bought the manor of South Teign, Devon for £250.2.6, 14 July 1651. He and Charles Beesowen bought the manor of Trematon in Cornwall and Devon for £1,499.4.1, 18 March 1651. Edward Allen sold him the ear or Fishing of Calstock and the atter of Tamer in Devon and Cornwall for £679, 17 February 1658. (E121/1/6/12; E121/1/6/76; E121/1/6/53; E121/2/2/15; E121/2/2/46; E121/5/7/44; C54/3945/10)

BRADFORD, William, of Holme on Spaldmore, Yorkshire, esquire. Captain of horse in Robert Lilburne's regiment. Previously he had been quartermaster in Sir William Constable's regiment of foot, captain of foot in Ferdinando Lord Fairfax's army and captain of dragoons under the same command, and captain of horse in Sir William Constable's and Colonel Copley's regiments. He was one of the 17 purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland, for £10,320.18.5½, 7 February 1652. The manor was later conveyed to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Ilkinson and Henry Hedworth. At the restoration it was in the possession of Major Thomas Lilburne. Bradford was one of the 6 purchasers of leaseholds in the late dissolved monastery of Melis in Holderness, Yorkshire, for £2,812.2.5½, 16 August 1650. The property was later conveyed to him alone. He was one of the 9 purchasers of Skyfield Lodge, the Chequer lands and the Duchy lands, Wiltshire for £3,770.11.8, 9 December 1651. The property was later conveyed to him and James Lotherington. He was one of 6 purchasers of the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire for £2,672.0.10, 15 August 1650. Pontefract was later conveyed to Mathew Foster and John Pearson to be held for the profit and advantage of themselves and 11 other men including Bradford. He was one of 6 purchasers of New Park, Yorkshire and the manor of Steppingley, Bedfordshire for £7,899, 5 June 1650. They sold Steppingley to Thomas Vause and John Stiles for £38. New Park went to William Peverell and William Bywater. Bradford and 5 others bought the East Park of Buckholt in Hampshire and Wiltshire for £946.10.0, 2 September 1650. He and 5 others bought the honor of Bolingbroke and the manors of Alkborough and Edlington, Lincolnshire, for £2,325.7.7, 16 August 1650. They later sold the honor of Bolingbroke and the brovage of the East and West Fens to Richard Skepper for £2,200, 18 August 1657. Bradford was also one of the purchasers of Nonsuch Palace and Little Park, which was later conveyed to John Lambert. (E121/3/3/22; E121/1/7/57; C54/3835/29; C54/3840/12; E121/5/3/19; C54/3888/9; E121/5/5/8; C54/3901/4; E121/5/7/2; C54/3871/38; CP25(2)/614, Yorkshire, Trinity 1654; E121/5/7/27; E121/3/3/24; C54/3932/32)

BRAGG, Nicholas, of London, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Graves. Previously he had been a gentleman of the earl of Essex's lifeguard, and then a captain lieutenant to Major General Skippon's troop of horse in Essex's army. He bought Shimpling Park, Suffolk for £1,535.18.0, 26 June 1651. (E121/4/7/75)

BRANDON, Mathew, gentleman. Richard Creede sold him 60 acres in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £100. (CP25(2)/606, Michaelmas 1654)

BRAYFIELD, Alexander, of Athlone, Ireland, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Hewson. Okay and Crofts sold him, Daniel Henchman, John Silverwood and Thomas Jaynes the manor of Idnes in the honor of Halton, 9 July 1656. The manor had originally cost £1,083.19.0. Okay and Crofts also sold these four the manor and lordship of High Peak, Derbyshire to be held for the satisfaction of 17 original creditors, among whom were included the four grantees, 9 July 1656. The manor and Lordship had originally cost £2,296.11.8. (Reg. Hist. 11, 409; C54/3896/29; E121/3/1/45; C54/3919/29; E121/2/1/18, 49)

BRAYFIELD, John, of Blisworth, Northamptonshire, yeoman. He bought lands and tenements in the manor of Blisworth with assigned bills for £656.12.4½, 29 October 1650. (E121/4/1/33)

BRAYMAN, Jehn, of London, esquire. Lieutenant under Captain Merriman in Colonel Rich's horse regiment. Previously he had been a trooper under Captains Robert Sparrow and Thomas Nevill in the earl of Manchester's regiment and army. Later, he was a trooper and then a cornet under Captain Merriman in Rich's regiment. His share of his regiment's purchases of crown land was a third part of Horn Park, alias Lee Park in Eltham, Kent, for £2,627.19.10. On 2 September 1653 he sold to John Caitnes for £74 several tenements in East Greenwich, Kent. (Clarke Papers i, 151; E121/2/11/19; Dd13/20/140/574; C54/3745/31)

BRERETON, Peter, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex. He and James Wynstanley bought, on behalf of Samuel Rowe and Anthony Boothe, the manor and borough of Macclesfield, Cheshire for £634.17.4, 18 March 1653. (E121/1/5/67)

BRERETON, Thomas, of Ashley, Cheshire, esquire. Humphrey Kelsall sold him and 3 other men the manor of Macclesfield, Cheshire, for £130, 2 July 1651. Kelsall had paid £267.10.0. (C54/3600/45; E121/1/5/37)

BRIDGE, Tobias, of London, esquire. Major of Colonel Okey's regiment of dragoons. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain Ever's troop of dragoons in the earl of Manchester's regiment and army. He was one of the 7 purchasers of Newmarket House, Cambridgeshire for £1,722, 26 November 1651. His share in the regimental purchases in Bedfordshire was 146 acres of Bregborough Park, the 250 acre warren of coneys and 53 acres of pasture, both in the parish of Ampthill in the honor of Ampthill. (E121/1/1/37; E121/1/4/56; E121/1/1/29; C54/3691/31; C54/3691/32)

BRISSE, Shradrach, of East Moulsey, Surrey, esquire. He and John Inwood bought the Hare Warren in the parish of Hampton, Middlesex, for £1,170, 15 November 1653. The property was subsequently bought back by the council of state for Oliver Cromwell. Edward Gittings sold Brisse and Inwood some houses and lands in Walton-on-Thames, eybridge and Chertsey, Surrey for £200, 20 February 1652. (E121/3/4/135; CSPD 1653-4, 408-9; C54/3587/26)

BRITTEN, Marie. She bought a messuage and lands in Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire for £187.5.10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, 30 June 1652. She was the immediate tenant. (Dd13/20/120/484; Dd8/30/5/11)

BROOKE, Francis, Lord. Earl's Meadow, Warwickshire was bought on his behalf for £272, 6 January 1651. (E121/5/1/9)

BROOKE, Henry, esquire. Colonel of foot in Cheshire. Previously he had been captain of foot and captain of horse in Cheshire. He bought the manor of Halton, Cheshire for £1,195.12.6, 27 February 1651. (E121/1/5/43)

BROOKE, John, esquire. Captain of foot in Cheshire. Previously he had been a cornet in Cheshire. He bought the manor of Middlewich, Cheshire for £836.4.8, 25 September 1650. (E121/1/5/28)

BROOKE, Richard, of Norton, Cheshire, esquire. Lieutenant-Colonel and governor of Halton Castle, Cheshire. Previously he had been captain of foot and lieutenant colonel to the regiment of Colonel Henry Brooke in Cheshire. He bought the manor of Ively, Cheshire for £307.5.6, 5 July 1652. (E121/1/5/61)



BROUGH, Thomas, of London, gentleman. He, John Raynor and William Stebbing bought crown land which they later sold to Sir John Trevor and John Inwood.

BROWNE, Henry. Philip Twisleton and Richard Watson sold him 102 acres and a cottage in Spalding, Moulton and Whaplode, Lincolnshire, for £120, Trinity 1658. (CP25(2)/571)

BROWNE, John, of Upton, Kent, esquire. Major and governor of Upton Castle, Kent. Previously he had been captain of horse in Colonel Wroth's regiment in the western service, engineer at the siege of Latham House in Lancashire, captain of foot under Colonel Siddenham in Plymouth Garrison, captain of horse in Lord Brooke's regiment and army, captain of horse in Lancashire, captain of horse in Sir William Brereton's regiment and brigade, and captain of foot in Colonel Rainborow's and Colonel Deane's regiment. He bought the manor of Northfleet and Newington, Kent for £1,234.4.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 14 August 1650. On 16 February 1652 he mortgaged it to John Parker of the Middle Temple for £400. The mortgage must have been redeemed, for on 9 February 1660 he sold the manor to George Etkins, also of the Middle Temple for £800. (CSPD 1649-50, 261; E121/2/11/11; C54/3644/25; C54/4019/2)

BROWNE, John, of London, esquire. Major of Thomas Fairfax's horse regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant to young Captain Oliver Cromwell's troop in Manchester's army, and then captain of horse under Lieutenant General Cromwell. He was one of the trustees who purchased Theobalds Park and House on behalf of Fairfax's horse regiment. As his share he received 114 acres of the park jointly with Thomas Cresswell, 7 April 1652. (E121/5/7/14; C54/3692/26; C54/3691/7)

BROWNE, William, of London, gentleman. He bought Richmond Little Park, Surrey as an original creditor for £7,884.18.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 30 May 1650. The fact that Browne bought as an original creditor should indicate that he was a soldier, although no information has been found as to his military status. (E121/4/8/5)

BROWNE, William, of Yardley Gobion, Northamptonshire, yeoman. He was one of the 4 purchasers of the manor of Moor-end, Northamptonshire for £1,119.9.11, 31 October 1650. The purchase was made with assigned bills. (E121/4/1/34)

BRUDWELL, Richard, of London, skinner. He and William Sutton bought Moat Park, Berkshire for £6,739.1.2, 20 June 1650. (C54/3503/40)

BRYAN, Norton, gentleman. Richard Skepper sold him 132 acres in Hareby, Bolingbroke, Asgarby, Lusby, Hagnaby and West Keal, Lincolnshire for £120, Trinity 1658. (CP25(2)/571)

BUCKLAND, John, esquire. Edward Cooke bought the manor of West Harptree, Somerset on behalf of Buckland and Francis Poulett for £2,077.5.10, 21 July 1651. (E121/4/5/82)

BUCKNER, Thomas, of London, esquire. Captain in John Barkstead's foot regiment. He was one of the regimental trustees in the purchase of the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £12,583.5.3 $\frac{3}{4}$ , 20 September 1650. He sold his share in the manor to Thomas Goodwin. (E121/2/11/23; C54/3742/37)

BUNCHER, John, of Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, yeoman. He and Richard Boughton bought a parcel of the honor of Grafton, Northamptonshire with assigned bills for £316.11.8, 16 June 1651. (E121/4/1/67)

BURDUS, Richard, of Offerton, Durham, yeoman. He, John Harrison, Philip Wilkinson and Henry Hedworth were conveyed the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland which had been originally bought by the officers of Robert Lilburne's horse regiment. The conveyance was made on 2 February 1655. The original price of the manor had been £10,320.18.5½. At the restoration it was in the hands of Thomas Lilburne. (C54/3835/29; E121/1/7/57)

BURGES, Benjamin, of New Windsor, Berkshire, gentleman. Captain of horse in Horton's regiment. He bought the manor of Bray, Berkshire and then sold it to Dame Mary Rogers. (Reg. Hist. i, 83)

BURNELEY, Richard, of Barholm, Lincolnshire, gentleman. He bought a parcel of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £840.14.0, 19 November 1654. The purchase was made with assigned bills. (E121/3/3/129)

BURNELL, Edmund, Lord, of Berkshire. In performance of a covenant made between them John Hemadell and William Cleene sold Lord Burnell the manor of Allingford in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, 30 June 1658. The manor had originally cost £1,199.0.8. (C54/3976/10; E121/5/7/95)

BURTHOGGE, Richard, of Plymouth, Devon, gentleman. Captain of foot in Plymouth Garrison. He and Henry Hatsell bought the manor of Portloe, Cornwall for £1,743.16.11, 20 June 1650. (E121/1/6/10)

BURTON, John, of Killinghall, Yorkshire, gentleman. He was one of 4 purchasers of 1) the manor of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £2,680.12.0, 22 November 1651; and 2) royalties within the forest of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £240, 24 April 1652. Both purchases were made with assigned bills. (E121/5/5/19; E121/5/5/27)

BURTON, Thomas, gentleman. As the immediate tenants he, Richard and Thomas Church bought lands and tenements in Roade, Piddington and Potterspury, Northamptonshire, parcels of the manors of Hartwell and Grafton for £396.0.0½, 29 October 1650. (E121/4/1/44)

BURY, Mr. He and John Welthorp bought tolls, etc. in Grantham, Lincolnshire on behalf of the aldermen and burgesses of Grantham for £249.2.10, 16 July 1650. (E121/3/3/20)

BUSSEY, Thomas, of Ampthill, Bedfordshire, gentleman. He bought a tenement and two messuages in Ampthill, Bedfordshire for £281.13.0, 5 August 1650. (C54/3561/9)

BUTCHER, George. The honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire was conveyed by the trustees of Robert Lilburne's regiment to Mathew Foster and John Pearson to be held for the profit and advantage of Butcher and 12 other men, 1 December 1656. Pontefract had originally cost £2,672.0.10. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

BUTLER, Thomas. Captain. He bought Grendon arren in the honor of Ewelme, Oxfordshire for £518.18.5, 8 May 1650. (Dd8/30/4/1; Dd13/20/1/6)

BYFIELD, John, of Westminster, esquire. Lieutenant of horse in Oliver Cromwell's regiment. He, John Jenkins, Joseph Wallington, John Fox, James Goodwyn and Edward Scotton bought inns at Great Park in Berkshire and Surrey for £22,755, 14 October 1650. Byfield died during the 1650's and his share of the park was taken over by John Barry, who married his widow. (C54/3506/18; CSPD 1660-1, 286)

BYFIELD, Nathaniell, of Silverton, Devon, clerk. He bought King's Mead, Berkshire with assigned bills for £636.4.0, 6 February 1651. (E121/1/2/31)

BYWATER, William. George Smithson, Thomas Lilburne, William Bradford, George Watkinson and Francis Wilkinson conveyed to him and William Peverell New Park, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, Trinity 1654. The Park had originally cost £7,861. (CP25(2)/614; E121/5/7/2)

CADE, John, of London, gentleman. He and John Chaukley bought several parcels of marsh land in the parish of Croft, Lincolnshire, with assigned bills for £2,128.10.0, 19 September 1650. (E121/3/3/37)

CADWELL, Mathew, of Gloucester, esquire. Major of foot in Sir William Constable's regiment. Previously he had been a soldier in Colonel Rich's troop, then a quartermaster in Captain Thomas Ireton's troop in the same regiment, and then major in Colonel John Lambert's foot regiment. He was one of 6 purchasers of 3 manors in Monmouthshire and the Abbey House in Burnham, Buckinghamshire, for £3,334.12.3, 18 July 1650. They sold the 3 manors to John Nicholas for £1,600 but appear to have kept the Abbey House of Burnham. Godfrey Ellis sold Cadwell and William Styles Bewdley Park and Ticknell House in the parish of Ribbesford, Worcestershire for £1,250, 7 July 1652. The property, which had originally cost £5,915.14.0, was sold to them 'by certain articles of agreement.' Peter Murford conveyed to Cadwell half the manor of Englishcombe, Somerset, in consideration of a marriage to be solemnized between Cadwell and Murford's daughter, 11 September 1656. (E121/5/7/21; C54/3643/34; C54/3760/12; E121/5/4/4; C54/3908/2)

CAITNES, John, of London, gentleman. John Brayman sold him 10 tenements in Crane Street, East Greenwich, Kent, for £74, 2 September 1653. Azariah Husbands sold him lands in Eltham, Kent for 'a competent sume', 26 August 1653. Thomas French also sold him parcels in Eltham for £41, 11 October 1653. Caitnes sold Thomas Blount 24 acres in Eltham for a 'competent sume'. (C54/3745/31; C54/3745/29; C54/3745/30; C54/3771/46)

CALTHORP, Christopher, of London, girdler. He bought tenements and lands in Cheshunt parish, Hertfordshire as an immediate tenant for £877.5.5, 9 January 1651. (E121/2/9/36)

CALTHORP, Roger, of Pyncheon, Lincolnshire, yeoman. He bought pasture ground in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £73.14.0, 30 April 1651. He was the immediate tenant. (E121/3/3/68)

CAMBRIDGE, Owen of Tinwell, Rutland, esquire. Major of Philip Wisleton's horse regiment. He, Deane, Marris, Munns, Berry, and Boole were conveyed part of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire, worth £5,400.2.4 as their share of the purchases of Wisleton's regiment, 29 June 1655. (C54/3872/5)

CANNABY, Charles. The trustees of Robert Lilburne's horse regiment conveyed the Honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire, to Mathew Foster and John Pearson to be held for the profit and advantage of Cannaby and 12 other men, 1 December 1656. Pontefract had originally cost £2,672.0.10. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

CANNON, Henry, of Long Grendon, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Captain in Henry Whalley's horse regiment. He and Francis Thomson bought indsor Little Park but sold it back to the council of state in 1654 for £3,473.10.0. However, on 2 November 1654 it was noted that they had not yet been paid for their surrender of the park. Cannon was implicated as a trafficker in forged debentures. (CSPD 1654, 129, 389; B.M. Stowe MS 184, fo.232; SP18/24/101; CSPD 1655, 7, 10-11)

CANNON, Robert, gentleman. He and Henry Robinson bought tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £638.19.3, 14 June 1651. Cannon was the immediate tenant. (E121/3/3/75)

CARDWELL, Robert. He bought several messuages and lands in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire, for £673.2.4 with assigned bills, 27 November 1650. (E121/4/1/50)

CARRIOR, Robert. He bought a parcel of the manor of Spalding as an immediate tenant for £96.13.4, 9 June 1651. (E121/3/3/85)

CARTER, Daniel, of Westminster, merchant. He and John Menheir bought crown land which they sold to John Fathers. (E121/1/6/11)

CARTER, Henry, of Richmond, Surrey, gentleman. Adam Baynes and William Goodrick sold him and John Carter several buildings, walls and lands belonging to the capital messuage of Richmond House for £560, 27 November 1651. (C54/3677/17)

CARTER, John, of Richmond, Surrey, innholder. Adam Baynes and William Goodrick sold him and Henry Carter several buildings, walls and lands belonging to the capital messuage of Richmond House for £560, 27 November 1651. (C54/3677/17)

CASTLE, Richard, of the city of Gloucester, esquire. Captain in Okey's regiment of dragoons. He was one of the 7 purchasers of Newmarket House, Cambridgeshire for £1,722, 26 November 1651. (E121/1/4/56)

CASTLE, Richard, of Warberth Castle, Pembrokeshire, esquire. He bought the Castle of Haverford east, Pembrokeshire with assigned bills for £42, 2 March 1654. (E121/5/6/94)

CASWELL, Richard, of the Inner Temple, London, gentleman. He bought a parcel of Hampton Court, Middlesex for £357.10.0, 15 November 1653, but it was later returned to the council of state for the use of Oliver Cromwell. (E121/3/4/137; CSPD 1653-4, 408-9)

CATLYN, Camaliel, of Lincoln's Inn, esquire. He was one of 6 men to whom John Raynor sold a moiety of the manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex for £770, 21 September 1651. The original price of the property was £1,196.13.8½. (C54/3618/19; E121/2/5/13)

CAVE, John, of the Inner Temple, esquire. Thomas Babington sold him, George Paler and Thomas Stavely several parcels in Eltham, Kent 'for a sufficient sum of money', 13 July 1654. (C54/3776/20)

CAWLEY, William, of Chichester, Sussex, esquire. He bought the manor of Oldbury and Seabeach, Sussex with assigned bills for £1,196.11.8, 8 March 1651. (E121/4/9 63)

CEELY, Edward, of Michael Creech, Somerset, esquire. Colonel of horse in Somerset. Previously he had been lieutenant colonel of foot to Colonel John Pine in Somerset. John Aubrey conveyed to him several closes and tenements in the manor of Mere, Wiltshire, 29 June 1653. Ceely, who was among those who had constituted Aubrey their attorney in the purchase of the manor of Mere, submitted debentures worth £1,347.11.4 towards the purchase of the manor. (C54/3744/41; E121/5/3/12)

CHAMBERLAINE, Thomas, of Yarmouth, Norfolk, esquire. Lieutenant to Major Grove in Edward Whalley's horse regiment. Previously he had been a trooper in Oliver Cromwell's troop and regiment in Manchester's army. As his share of the purchases made by Whalley's regiment he received the west division of Havering Park, Essex, worth £4,158.14.3½, 15 March 1654; and 279 acres in the manor of Terrington, Norfolk, 15 March 1654. At the restoration however Colonel Whalley was said to be in possession of Terrington. (E121/3/6/\_; C54/3745/2; E121/2/5/51; C54/3753/2)

CHAPMAN, George. The trustees of Robert Lilburne's horse regiment conveyed the honor of Pontefract to Mathew Foster and John Pearson to be held for the profit and advantage of Chapman and 12 other men, 1 December 1656. The honor had originally cost £2,672.0.10. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

CHARLTON, George, of Plymouth, Devon, gentleman. Cornet in the garrison of Plymouth. Previously he had been a trooper under Captain Braddon, and then a trooper and quartermaster to Captain Thomas Halsey in Plymouth garrison. He bought the manor of Leigh Durrant, Cornwall for £2,431.12.9, 23 July 1651. (E121/1/6/53; E121/1/6/54)

CHASE, William, of London, gentleman. He and Robert Bowes bought the manor house of Hardwich, Surrey as immediate tenants for £1,476.0.8, 2 August 1650. (E121/4/8/21)

CHAULKLEY, John, of London, citizen and barber chirurgion. He and John Cade bought several parcels of marsh land in Croft, Lincolnshire for £2,128.10.0, 19 September 1650. (E121/3/3/37)

CHAWORTH, John, of London, merchant. John Addis sold him the manor of East Hendred, Berkshire for £300, 10 July 1652. The original price had been £595.11.7½. (C54/3644/11; E121/1/2/27)

CHEESWORTH, Oliver. He bought the boroughs of Portpighan, Fowey and Crafthol, Cornwall as an original creditor for £199.1.3, 17 March 1657. (E121/1/6/74)

CHETHAM, Humphrey, of Clayton, Lancashire, esquire. William Farrer sold him for a certain sum and in part performance of certain covenants, the manor of lordship of Accrington, Lancashire, 15 July 1653. (C54/3759/14)

CHIDLEY, Samuel, of London, citizen and haberdasher. Most of his purchases were made as an original creditor but there is no indication of his military status. He bought 2 tenements near Charing Cross, Middlesex for £1,110, 22 March 1651. He also bought several messuages and lands in the parishes of St Giles-in-the-Fields and High Holborn, Middlesex for £3,506.3.4, 18 August 1652. He bought lands and tenements in the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £1,752.10.10 with assigned bills, 21 March 1651. He bought the manor of Thedwarstree, Suffolk, for £367.4.0<sup>3</sup>, 7 October 1650. He bought pasture ground in the parish of Cheam, Surrey for £131.14.0, 4 February 1651. He sold George Townsend 3 messuages in St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex for £80. He sold Humphrey Greene and John Poole a messuage in the manor of Greens-Norton for £20. He sold another messuage in Greens-Norton to Elizabeth Hope for £40. He sold Theophila Twist 31 acres in the manor of Greens-Norton for £91. He sold John Pinkard a messuage and several parcels in Greens-Norton for £61.10.0. Chidley also bought several other properties and sold them to Samuel Richardson, William Tibbs, William Crosse, William and Thomas Penne, William Child, Francis Finch, John Doiley, John Holliday, William Travis and George Townsend. He was involved in several more transactions as an agent, and was also a buyer of debentures to a significant extent. He was implicated more than once in the traffic in forged debentures. He published a great number of pamphlets on matters both religious and political. Reference to the pamphlets may be found in the catalogue to the Thomason Collection in the British Museum. (E121/3/4/65; E121/3/4/107; E121/4/1/57; E121/4/7/42; E121/4/8/60; CP43/300/18; C54/3669/27; C54/3669/28; C54/3899/11; C54/3899/12; B.M. Stowe MS 184, fo.256; SP18/24/101)

CHILD, Susan. She bought Hatchers land, Surrey as an immediate tenant for £266.10.8<sup>1</sup>, 16 January 1651. (E121/4/8/19)

CHILD, William, of St Clement Danes, Middlesex, gentleman. Samuel Chidley sold him, for a competent sum, those parcels of the manor of Penn, Buckinghamshire, lying in the parish of Chenies, 3 January 1653. (C54/3653/19)

CHILLENDEW, Edmund, of London, esquire. Captain in Edward Whalley's regiment of horse. Previously he had been cornet to Captain William Dingley's troop in the earl of Manchester's regiment and army, scout for the city of London and lieutenant to Captain Evanson in Whalley's regiment. As his share of his regiment's purchases, he received 11 tenements in the Strand, Middlesex, 8 September 1654. 22 tenements had originally been bought for £4,095.12.4. He also received 270 acres of the New Marsh and 166 acres of the Saltmarsh in Terrington, Norfolk. He later sold this land to Thomas Loddington and William Parnell for £2,000. (E121/2/5/51; E121/3/4/51; C54/3810/22; C54/3781/9)

CHURCH, Richard, of Hartwell, Northamptonshire, gentleman. He, Thomas Church and Thomas Burton bought lands and tenements in Roade, Piddington and Potterspury in the manors of Hartwell and Grafton, Northamptonshire as immediate tenants, for £396.0.0<sup>7</sup>, 29 October 1650. (E121/4/1/44)

CHURCH, Thomas, of Wootton, Northamptonshire, gentleman. He, Richard Church and Thomas Burton bought lands and tenements in Roade, Piddington and Potterspury, in the manors of Hartwell and Grafton, Northamptonshire, as immediate tenants, for £396.0.0<sup>7</sup>, 29 October 1650. (E121/4/1/44)

CLAPHAM, Christopher, esquire. He was one of 6 men to whom Adam Baynes conveyed 912 acres in Holdenby, Northamptonshire, Michaelmas 1657. The conveyance was evidently a trust, since Baynes was in possession of Holdenby at the restoration. (CP25(2)/617)

CLAPP, Richard, of Sidbury, Devon, gentleman. He had served as commissary in the garrison of Plymouth under Colonel Gould, as commissary in the Garrison of Dartmouth under Colonel Rowse, and as commissary to the standing committee of Devon. Thomas Saunders and John Gorges conveyed him part of the honor and manor of Bradninch, Devon for £4,040.16.8, 10 September 1656. (E121/2/2/25; C54/3910/13)

CLARKE, George, of London, citizen and grocer. He and Rebecca his wife bought the moiety of five mills in Ludlow, Shropshire for £140.12.8, 5 April 1653. He bought as an original creditor. (E121/4/4/110)

CLARKE, James, of Staines, Middlesex, mercer. He bought several tenements and lands in Egham, Surrey for £188.9.0, 21 March 1651. He bought as an immediate tenant. (E121/4/8/66)

CLARKE, James, of Wethersfield, Essex, yeoman. William Stane, William Glascocke and William Turpin sold him and John Clarke Hamond's tenement in Stapleford Abbots, Essex for £272, 4 February 1654. (C54/3771/28)

CLARKE, John, of Gaynes Colne, Essex, clerk. William Stane, William Glascocke and William Turpin sold him and James Clarke Hamond's tenement in Stapleford Abbots, Essex for £272, 4 February 1654. (C54/3771/28)

CLARKE, Samuel, of Bristol, esquire. Major of foot in Skippon's regiment. He and Edward Sexby bought a parcel of the honor of Otford, Kent for £228, 27 August 1651. He and 9 other officers bought the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Corsham, Wiltshire; Clewer, Berkshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire, for £3,771.12.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 23 July 1651. Another Samuel Clarke, possibly the same man, and George Bishopp, bought St Johns Wood, Buckinghamshire for £622.10.0, 17 July 1650. (E121/2/11/41; E121/5/7/35; Dd8/30/4/1)

CLARKE, William, of Grantham, Lincolnshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought the George Inn and other properties in Grantham for £1,078.12.0, 25 September 1650. (E121/3/3/35)

CLARKE, William, of Moxby, Yorkshire, gentleman. Captain of foot in Cawood Castle. Previously he had been a gentleman in the earl of Essex's and in Sir Thomas Fairfax's lifeguard. He bought the manor of Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire for £887.15.8, 29 October 1650. In 1657 he and Dorcas his wife sold John Knowles 44 acres in the manor for £60. (E121/3/3/43; E121/3/3/111; CP(2)/570, Easter 1657)

CLARKE, William, of the Inner Temple, London, gentleman. Secretary to Oliver Cromwell and then George Monck. Previously he had been gentleman of Sir Thomas Fairfax's lifeguard. He bought two eighths of St John's Wood, Middlesex for £1,854.5.0, 25 June 1650. He also acquired 60 acres and a house in Marylebone Park, Middlesex worth £120 per annum. (E121/3/4/18; Crest 6/2/225)

CLAXTON, William, of Wimbledon, Surrey, gentleman. William Michell sold him the honor of Bonon Hagnett and Peverell in Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridge and Surrey for £128.13.3, 18 April 1653. The property had cost £1,923.17.3. (C54/3753/19; E121/5/7/79)

CLEERE, Henry, senior of junior, of Islington, Middlesex, chirurgion. Captain Henry Cleere senior was the chirurgion of Horton's regiment. Previously he had been chirurgion to Sir Arthur Hasilrig's horse regiment in William Waller's army, and, before that, chirurgion to Colonel Fane's dragoons in the earl of Essex's army. Captain Henry Cleere junior was chirurgion to Commissary General Ireton's regiment. Previously he had been chirurgion to Sir Arthur Hasilrig's foot regiment. They bought Kingswood, Surrey for £16, 28 June 1653. They also bought the manors of Emmerdale, Cumberland and Radnage, Buckinghamshire, for £1,278.19.9, 1 January 1651. For 500 they sold Edward French the manor of Emmerdale, 15 November 1656. For £430 French sold them and Henry Ossington two thirds of the manor of Chertsey, Surrey, 15 November 1656. (E121/5/7/36; E121/4/8/106, C54/3898/20; C54/3910/23)

CLEMENT, Gregorie, of London, esquire. George Vaux sold him the manor of Perriers in the parish of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire for £294.1.6½, 19 June 1650. Vaux also sold him, for an undisclosed sum, several messuages near the Tower of London, 27 October 1651. Vaux had originally paid £4, 18.6.11. for these messuages. (C54/3559/20; C54/3581/21; E121/3/4/79)

CLEMENT, James, of London, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought lands previously belonging to the dissolved monastery of St Agatha, Yorkshire, for 98.14., 22 December 1651. (E121/5/5/21)

CLEMENT, Thomas, of Englishcombe, Somerset, gentleman. John Warr sold him, Francis Fisher and Joseph Rosewell half the manor of Englishcombe, Somerset for £484, 11 December 1651. Warr had originally paid £1,601.12.10. for the whole manor. (C54/3586/38; E121/4/5/73)

CLEMENT, William, of Cornhill, London, upholsterer. John Aubrey sold him part of the manor of Mere, Wiltshire for £220, 19 June 1656. (C54/3888/5)

CLERKE, John, of Southwark, Surrey, esquire. Captain of foot in Skipton's regiment. He and 9 other officers bought the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Clewer, Berkshire; Corsham, Wiltshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire, for £3,771.12.4½, 23 July 1651. (E121 5/7/35)

CLERKE, John, of Plymouth, Devon, esquire. Captain of foot under Sir Hardress Waller. He, Edward Allen and Philip Ezbery bought the manor of Tinsten, Cornwall for £5,166.1.11, 4 November 1650. For an undisclosed sum they sold Richard Aske 3 tenements and a cottage within the manor, 7 December 1655. On the same day they conveyed to Sir Hardress Waller, also for an undisclosed sum, nearly half the manor. (E121/1/6/30; C54/3863/8; C54/3863/9)

CLEYTON, John, of Oakenshaw, Yorkshire, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel John Bright. Previously he had been captain under Colonel Sir John Savill. He and William Barwick bought crown lands which they sold to John Horton. (E121/3/4/15)

CLIFFE, Thomas, gentleman. Adam Baynes sold him 250 acres in Holdenby, Northamptonshire, for £200, in 1653. (CP(25)/581, Easter 1653)

CLIFTON, Richard, of Berwick-on-Tweed, gentleman. He was probably an officer in Robert Read's foot regiment. He and 10 other officers bought the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He and 10 other officers also bought the manors of Rushden and Bands, Northamptonshire and Gillingham, Kent, 17 July 1650, for £4,067.14.11½. He was also one of the 17 purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland, which was later conveyed to Richard Burdus, Henry Hedworth, John Harrison and Philip Wilkinson. (E121/5/5/5; E121/5/7/18)



CLUTTERBUCK, John. As an immediate tenant he bought a cottage in lower treet and sundry premi es in the manor of Clewer, Berkshire, for £135.3.6, 13 March 1650. (Dd8/30 5/1, 3; Dd13/20/16/67)

COALES, Jame , of Titchmarsh, Northamptonshir , gentleman. Cornet under Captain Walthorp in Twisleton's horse regiment. Previously he had been a trumpeter under Colonel Edward Rossiter in the earl of Manchester's army. He was an active trustee in his regiment's purchases of crown land. He personally acquired lands in the parishes of Pirchbeck and palding, Lincnolnshire, for £794.7.3½, 21 June 1655. (E121/3/3/113; C54/3875/23)

COBBETT, John. Major of foot in Ski pon's regiment. He, Robert Cobbett and John Warr bought the manor of Pevensay, Sussex for £1,492.9.0½, 12 April 1652. (E121/4/9/95)

COBBETT, Ralph, of London, esquire. Lieutenant colonel to Barkstead's foot regiment. Previously he had been captain reformedo in Colonel Graves's company and regiment in the earl of Essex's army; captain of foot under Colonel Holmstead and the earl of Essex; lieutenant to Captain Deane under Colonel Holmstead and the earl of Essex; and ensign of foot in the same company, regiment and army. He and 6 other officers bought the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £12,583.5.3½, 20 September 1650. They subsequently sold most of the manor to Francis Stanton, John Batersby, Stephen Kirke, Martin Noell, Robert Harbin, illiam Peters, Edward Hall, and Thomas Kelsey. (E121 2/11/23; C54/3643/23; C54/3644/36; C54/3776/18)

COBBETT, Robert. Major of foot under Colonel Barkstead. He, John Co bett and John Warr bought the manor of Pevensay, Sussex for £1,492.9.0½, 12 April 1652. (E121/4/9/95)

COCKE, William, of Boston, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Probably an officer in Colonel Syler's regiment in Boston garrison. In performance of a trust Edward Southes conveyed to him and Horne, tenements and 14 acres in the manor of Hogsthorpe, Lincolnshire, 1 September 1653. At the same time Southes also conveyed to him and 5 others 150 acres in the same manor. (CP43 283/26; CP25(2)/569, Michaelmas 1653)

COLLIER, Isaak, of London, gentleman. ith assigned bills he bought several parcels in Roxham and West Dereham, Norfolk for £1,013.6.8, 18 March 1658. (E121/3/6/105)

COLLIN, Lawrence, of Nottingham, gentleman. John Gillott and others sold him the manor of Winthorpe, Nottinghamshire for £231, 7 June 1651. (C54/3598/35)

COLLINS, illiam, esquire. He and George Sedgwick bought the manor of Ognore, Glamorganshire for £959.9.9½, 25 July 1650. Both men were immedi te tenants. The manor was evidently purchased for the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who later acquired it. (E121/5/6/8; Crest 6/1/166)

COLLOP, Henry. As an immediate tenant he bought Collops land in the manor of Steppingley, Bedfordshire for £137.17.4. (Dd8/30/5/3; Dd13/20/8/36)

COLTMAN, John of London, merchant. As an original creditor he bought tenements in Hartfield, Sussex for £893.15.0, 27 May 1 57. (E121/4/9/121)

COMBE, Richard, of Grays Inn, Middlesex, gentleman. He and 3 others bought The Shambles in the Market Place of the town of Hempstead for £95.10.0, 20 November 1650. They were immediate tenants. He also acquired half the manor of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire from several Yorkshire gentlemen who had previously bought it from John Raynor. Combe paid £1,100 on 27 July 1655. (E121/2/9/31; C54/3872/6)

COMBEY, William, of London, gentleman. Cornet under Captain Creede in Colonel Thornhaugh's regiment. Previously he had been a trooper under Captain Hawksworth in Colonel Pymfroy's regiment in Warwickshire. He was very active in the buying and selling of crown lands. He bought Tulcotte Farm in New Windsor parish, Berkshire for £621.13.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 10 September 1652. Richard Sankey sold him 198 acres of land in Kenilworth and Ruffen, Warwickshire for £160, Easter 1652. In most of the other transactions in which he was involved Combey acted only as an agent. He also bought crown land which he subsequently conveyed to Thomas Goven, George Hooper, John Turner, Richard Graves and Edward Grange. (E121/5/1/22; E121/5/1/18; E121/1/2/41; CP25(2)/605, Easter 1652)

CONY, Mr. He and Mr Bury bought tolls and other properties in Grantham, Lincolnshire on behalf of himself and the aldermen and burgesses of Grantham for £249.2.10, 16 July 1650. They were immediate tenants. (E121/3/3/20)

CONSTABLE, Thomas, of London, gentleman. Acting as original creditors, he and Samuel Smith bought marsh lands called the artha in Gloucestershire for £311.6.6, 29 April 1654. (E121/2/6/55)

CONYDON, William. John Fathers bought tenements in Stoke Climaland, Cornwall on behalf of him, Margaret Couth and Henry Stephens for £407.12.4, 7 May 1650. (E121/1/6/3)

CONYERS, Nicholas, of Bowlbey, Yorkshire, gentleman. Captain of horse under Lord Ferdinando Fairfax and Colonel Bethell. Previously he had been cornet of horse under Sir Hugh Colmley, and then lieutenant to Captain Micklethwaite's troop under Lord Fairfax. He was one of the purchasers of the leaseholds of the manor of Rosedale, Yorkshire for £2,907.19.11, 15 June 1650. When the property was later divided up Conyers received about three fifths of it. (E121/5/5/1; CP25(2)/614 Yorkshire, Easter 1654)

CONYERS, Tristram, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire. John Raynor sold him and 5 others the moiety of the manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex for £770, 21 September 1651. (C54/3618/19)

COOK, William, of Wallingford, Berkshire, esquire. With assigned bills he bought Clapeott Field in the honor of Wallingford, Berkshire for £13.18.5, 24 March 1653. (E121/1/2/\_)

COOKE, Edward, of Highnam, Gloucestershire, esquire. With assigned bills he bought the manor of East Harptree, Somerset for £2,077.5.10, 21 July 1651. (E121/4/5/82)

COOKE, James, gentleman. Captain Richard Creede sold him and Thomas Juice the manor of Rowington, Warwickshire for £240, Michaelmas 1652. (CP25(2)/605, Michaelmas 1652)

COOKE, John, of Ashton, Northamptonshire, esquire. Benjamin Austine and Richard Lloyd bought the manor of Ashton for on his behalf for £869.14.6, 23 January 1651. (E121/4/1/50)

COOKE, William, of Allingford, Berkshire, esquire, alderman. With assigned bills he bought land in and near the honor of Allingford for a total of £90.17.6. (E121/1/2/43, 47)

COOLEY, Robert, of London, gentleman. He and Brandon Hillyard bought, as original creditors, the honor of Clare and Gloucester in Norfolk for £2,181.13.1½, 7 September 1655. (E121/5/7/102)

COOPER, George. He bought the fourth division of Clarendon Park, called the Palmers Lodge division, Wiltshire, for £6,096.6.1½, 2 June 1652. (E121/5/3/29)

COOPER, Thomas, of London, citizen and tallowhandler. John Hemsdell sold him a messuage in the parish of St Saviour in Southwark, Surrey for £288, 30 August 1650. Hemsdell had originally paid £667.6.8. (C54/3546/16; E121/4/8/13)

COPELAND, Nicholas, gentleman. Probably an officer in Skippon's foot regiment. He and 9 other officers bought the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Clewer, Berkshire; Corham, Wiltshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire for £3,771.12.4½, 23 July 1651. (E121/5/7/35)

COPPERTHWAIT, Christopher, of Barningham, Yorkshire, esquire. Major of foot in General Oynz's regiment. Previously he had been cornet under Captain Anderson and Sir Hugh Cholmley; trooper to Colonel Boynton's troop; lieutenant to Major Lowenger in Lord Illoughby of Parham's regiment; and serjeant major of horse in Colonel Sir Thomas Norcliff's regiment. Adam Sheppardson conveyed to him the manor of Muchland, Lancashire for an undisclosed sum, 29 December 1651. It had previously cost £3,329. (E121/5/7/10; C54/3626/12; E320/22/13)

COSHE, William, of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, gentleman. Christopher Skepper sold him rents of £18.12.0 in Pendle Forest, Lancashire for an undisclosed sum, 25 September 1655. (C54/3839/41)

COTCHETT, Robert, esquire. Lieutenant in Colonel Saunders's troop and regiment of horse. Previously he had been lieutenant in Captain Joseph Swetnam's troop in Sir John Gell's regiment in Derbyshire. He and 6 others bought the manor and castle of Tutbury, Staffordshire for £3,245.7.6, 30 June 1652. They also bought several coppices in the manor of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £7,187.16.4, 25 June 1652. They also bought the manor and castle of Kenilworth, the manor of Cotton, Hog Park, Old Park, Castle Mills Park, The Chase, The Royal Fishing, and several water grist mill, lands, Tenements and hereditaments in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire, for £18,775.3.9, 30 July 1651. (E121/5/1/2; E121/4/6/101; E121/5/1/18)

COUTH, Margaret. John Fathers bought tenements in Stoke Climsland, Cornwall on behalf of her, William Conydon and Henry Stephens for £407.12.4, 7 May 1650. (E121/1/6/3)

COVELL, William, of Leyton, Essex, esquire. Captain in Fairfax's horse regiment. Previously he had been cornet and lieutenant in Captain Gray's troop and Lord Gray's regiment in Essex's army; lieutenant to Captain Thomas Rawlin's troop in Colonel Beare's regiment in Essex's army; reformed in Major Desborow's troop in Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army; and then lieutenant in Major Desborow's troop in Fairfax's regiment. He was one of the 6 trustees who purchased Theobalds Park in Hertfordshire and Middlesex for £35,873.11.3, 12 August 1650. He shared 416 acres of the park with Robert Southwell. He later sold 11 acres to Stephen and Anthony Power. (E121/5/7/14; C54/3695/43; C54/3731/36)

COX, William, of London, merchant. John Sparrow, William May and Richard Haywood sold him a tenement at the east gate of Theobalds Park for £80, 20 December 1654. On 9 November 1654 Haywood, Mathew Jumper and John Alford sold him 144 acres of pasture and woodground in Theobalds Park for £2,760. On 24 June 1659 he and Edward Cox sold Edmond Rolfe 59 acres in the Park for £895.18.0. (C54/3877/1; C54/3828/3; C54/4044/9)

COXE, Alban, of Beaumont, Hertfordshire, esquire. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillips sold him and 5 others the Great Gate, sometimes parcel of the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire for £90, 6 May 151. (C54/3591/6)

CRAFT, William, of London, gentleman. Daniel Henchman, Humphrey Jones and Nathaniel Bonich conveyed to him and John Okey the manor of Widnes, Lancashire and the lordship and liberty of High Peak, Derbyshire. Okey and Craft then conveyed these properties to Daniel Henchman, Alexander Brayfield, John Silverwood and Thomas Jaynes. (C54/3897/25; C54/3919/30)

CRANE, John of Milton, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he and William Denton bought lands and tenements in the manor of Blisworth, Northamptonshire for £1,330.10.1½, 24 October 1650. (E121/4/1/35)

CRAWSEY, Thomas. Probably an officer in the northern army. He was one of 1 men for whose profit and advantage the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire was to be held. The Honor had cost £2,672.0.10. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

CREEDE, Richard, of Warwick, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Thornhaugh. Previously he had been lieutenant to Colonel Colmoore's troop, and then captain in Colmoore's regiment in Warwickshire; lieutenant in Major Hawksworth's troop of horse in Warwickshire; and lieutenant to Major Pont's troop in Lord Brook's regiment. He bought the manor of Rowington, Warwickshire for £1,297.5.8½, 31 October 1651. He and 6 others bought the manor and castle of Tutbury, Staffordshire for £3,245.7.6, 30 June 1652. They also bought several coppices in the manor of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £7,187.16.4, 25 June 1652. They also bought the castle and manor of Kenilworth, the manor of Coston, Hog Park, Old Park, Castle Hills Park, the Chase, the Royal Fishing, and several water grist mills, lands tenements and hereditaments in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire, for £18,775.3.9. On 28 June 1655 they and several other men sold Thomas Fish for £60,000 the castle, parks and manor of Kenilworth, the manor of Ruffen and the site of the late monastery of Kenilworth. The transaction included much property that was not crown land. Richard Sankey sold him 198 acres in Kenilworth and Ruffen for £160, 10 October 1652. Sankey also sold him and William Combe 67 acres in Ruffen for £100, Easter 1653. Creede sold the manor of Rowington to James Cooke and Thomas Juice for £240 in 1652. He also sold parcels in Ruffen and Kenilworth to Mathew Brandon, Nathaniel Alsopp and Richard Booth. (E121/5/1/27; E121/4/6/101; E121/5/1/2, 18; C54/3875/19; CP25(2)/605, Easter 1652; Easter 1653; CP25(2)/606 Michaelmas 1654; CP25(2)/606 Michaelmas 1656; CP25(2)/606 Michaelmas 1656; C54/3921/18)

CRESSWELL, Thomas, of Highgate, Middlesex, gentleman. With John Browne he shared 114 acres of pasture and woodground in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire, 7 April 1652. (C54/3691/7)

CROKE, Richard, citizen and freemason of London. John Browne and George Gill sold him and William Pollicott part of Theobalds House, Hertfordshire for £2,670, 17 May 1652. (C54/3692/22)

CROMWELL, Thomas, of Broad Summerford, Wiltshire, yeoman. He bought a tenement in Broad Summerford for £30, 6 November 1655. (E121/5/3/47)

CROOKE, John, of London, citizen and goldsmith. Captain in Henry Cromwell's regiment. He was one of the trustees in the purchase of Beakerings Park, Bedfordshire for £8,311.1.0, 4 October 1650. As his share he received 288 acres, but he transferred 407 of them back to James Noell. (Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, xxv (1943), p. 110; E121/1/1/26; C54/3723/19; C54/3734/19)

CROSSE, Robert, of Richmond, Surrey, gentleman. Humphrey Edwards sold him part of the capital messuage of Richmond for £60, 10 June 1652. (C54/3678/14)

CROSSE, William, of Ascott, Northamptonshire, yeoman. Samuel Chidley sold him a tenement in the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £200, 21 November 1651. (C54/3635/3)

CURRER, William, of London, gentleman. With assigned bills he and Mathew Scarborough bought a parcel of the Honor of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £368, 20 May 1653. (E121/5/5/38)

CURTIS, Mathew, of Poole, Dorset, esquire. Serjeant of foot in Weymouth garrison. Previously he had been a dragoon in Captain Straham's company in Sir William Waller's regiment, and then a serjeant in Major George Skutt's company under Lieutenant Colonel Reade in Poole Garrison. He was one of the 9 purchasers of Spyfield Lodge, the Chequer lands and the duchy lands near the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire, but was not among the grantors when the land was later conveyed to William Bradford and James Lotherington. (E121/5/3/19)

CUTLER, Edward, of Stoward Payne, Dorset, yeoman. John Warr sold him a tenement in the manor of Ryne Intrinsica, Dorset for £50, 30 December 1653. (C54/3731/10)

DALE, Daniel, of Ipswich or Borsstal, Suffolk, esquire. Captain lieutenant to Colonel Whalley's troop of horse. Previously he had been a trooper in Lieutenant Colonel Whalley's troop in Cromwell's regiment and Manchester's army. He was an agent in all the regimental purchases of Whalley's regiment. He personally received only two tenements in the Strand, Middlesex, which he appears to have sold back to Chillenden in 1657. (E121/3/6/\_; E121/3/4/51; C54/3805/31; C54/3943/10)

DALE, John, of Spalding, Lincolnshire, gentleman. He bought a parcel of the manor of Spalding on behalf of himself and 13 other local inhabitants for £1,184.7.6, 16 January 1655. (E121/3/3/127)

DANIELL, Roger, of London, citizen and haberdasher. He and Mathew Scarborough, as original creditors, bought several lands and tenements in the parishes of Moulton, Pinchbeck, Whaplede and Cowbit, Lincolnshire, for £3,038.9.0, 8 December 1652. They appear to have sold most of them to Henry Hall, John Hale, John Glover, and Robert Legard. They also bought rents and perquisites belonging to the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire for £136.8.0, 4 January 1654. (E121/3/3/III, C54/3720/39; C54/3734/21; C54/3823/21; E121/5/5/39)

DANN, Richard, of Leicester, jersey combmaker. With assigned bills he bought a tenement in the town of Leicester for £27.7.8, 7 February 1654. (E121/3/2/131)

DARNALL, Ralph, of Shaw Farm, Berkshire. With assigned bills he bought Shaw Farm for £1,624.1.0, 22 November 1650. (E121/1/2/28)

DARTMOUTH, the manor, bayliff and burgesses of. The office of water bayliff of Dartmouth was bought on their behalf by Eustace Badgell for £213.6.8, 23 December 1650. (E121/2/2/22)

DAVILE, Thomas, the younger, of Kirkby Fleetham, Yorkshire, gentleman. Adam Baynes sold him the manor of Brampton with several parcels of land in the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £166.10.0, 8 February 1653. (C54/3752/23)

DAVIS, John, of Oxford, gentleman. He was evidently an officer in Colonel Ingoldsby's foot regiment. He and 9 other of the regiment's officers bought Ingleby manor, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650. They also bought a parcel of the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. They also bought Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall, for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. They later sold Dorney House to John Dawberne for £182. Davis and 10 others of the same regiment also bought several lands in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £830.14.16, 1 March 1653. At the restoration Ingleby was in Ingoldsby's possession. (E121/3/3/31; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45; C54/3789/14; E121/3/3/115)

DAWBERNE, John, of alton, Surrey, esquire. Captain of dragoons under Colonel Okey. Previously he had been chirurgion to Sir Arthur Haselrig's and Colonel Mill's regiments of dragoons in William Waller's army. He was one of the agents in the purchases made by Okey's regiment. He received, jointly with Okey, 123 acres of Brogborough Park in the honor of Amptill, Bedfordshire, 24 February 1652. He also bought Dorney House, Surrey, from the officers of Ingoldsby's regiment for £182, 20 December 1653. (E121/1/1/37; C54/3691/30; C54/3789/14)

DAWGS, William, of Essendon, Hertfordshire, gentleman. One of the parliamentary surveyors for Berkshire. He, Richard Heywood and Thomas Tanner bought Fussell's division in Clarendon Park, iltshire for £3,800, 19 July 1653. Arthur Evelyn sold him Morris's Lodge in Enfield, Middlesex for £400, 5 May 1653. It had originally cost £712.7.0. In 1659 he sold Francis Allen 49 acres in Enfield for £60. (E317 Berkshire 36; Dd13/20/138/565; C54/3713/1; E121/3/4/70; CP25(2)/575 Middlesex, Hilary 1658-9)

DAWKINS, Rowland, of Swansea, Glamorganshire, esquire. Major of foot under Colonel Philip Jones. He and 3 other officers bought the manor of Wendy, Monmouthshire for £2,411.5.10½, 26 August 1650. They also bought the manors of Oysterlow, Train-a-March and Trayn-Morgan in Carmarthenshire; the fishing of Gylgaron to Cardigan Bridge, and lands in the parish of Hodgaston, Pembrokeshire for £2,237.19.8, 30 May 1651. (E121/3/5/32; E121/5/6/51)

DAWSON, illiam, gentleman. Adam Baynes sold him and 5 others 912 acres in Holdenby, Northamptonshire, and the yearly rent of £62.1.10 issuing out of the manor of Leeds and Hunsden in Leeds, Yorkshire, for an undisclosed sum, Michaelmas 1657. These properties were probably only entrusted to them for Baynes was regarded as the owner of Holdenby at the restoration. (CP25(2)/617, Michaelmas 1657)

DEANE, Anthony, of Deanes Hall, ex, esquire. He bought the Mulberry Garden near St James's in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex for £770, 28 September 1651. The purchase was made with assigned bills. He also bought the Banqueting House division, the Old Lodge division and the Middle division of Hyde Park, Middlesex for 9,020.8.2, 5 April 1653. He later sold 61 acres to John Tracy for £1,740.6.8. He also sold small parcels of the Park to William Hamond and Francis Stone. (E121/3/4/83; E121/3/4/132, C54/3812/17; C54/3936/37)

DEANE, Richard, of London, esquire. Colonel of foot. Previously he had been adjutant to the major general of foot, and comptroller and captain of firelocks in the train of artillery. He and John Parrow, senior and junior, bought half the manor of Havering, Essex for £1,196.13.8, 25 September 1650. The same men also bought a third of Havering Park with the manor house for £4,733.16.8, 11 June 1651. (E121/2/5/14, 35)

DEANE, Thomas, of Lincoln, esquire. Lieutenant under Captain Cambridge in Twisleton's regiment. He was one of the regimental trustees in the purchases of crown land made by the regiment. Previously he had been a cornet and then a lieutenant under Captain Markham and Colonel Rossiter in Manchester's army. He received a share of the regimental purchases, but sold it to John Willshye and Richard Laughton. (E121/3/3/113; C54/3872/4; C54/3872/5; C54/3930/11; C54/3934/5)

DENDY, Edward, of Whitehall, esquire. Captain of horse. He bought crown land which he later sold to Samuel Gardener, Jonathan Prickman, Robert Boyse, James Rice and John Avis. (C PD 1651-2, 592)

DENTON, William, of Blisworth, Northamptonshire, yeoman. He and John Crane bought lands and tenements in the manor of Blisworth with assigned bills for £1,330.10.1½, 24 October 1650. (E121/4/1/35)

DE ALLE NOVA, Peter, of Weymouth, Dorset, esquire. Surgeon in the garrisons of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. Previously he had been apothecary in the service of the western forces. He, William Murford, and Daniel Henchman later turned over their share in the manor to Murford. (E121/4/5 86; C54/3713/14)

DESBOROW, John, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, esquire. Colonel of Horse. John Jenkins sold him part of Windsor Great Park, Surrey and Berkshire for £900, 16 March 1652. (C54/3636/4)

DEVERELL, Thomas, of Swanbourne, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillipps sold him and Thomas Theed so much of the honor of Berkhamsted as lay in Buckinghamshire for £50, 8 November 1655, (C54/3850/12)

DICKENSON, John, gentleman. He bought, with assigned bills, an inn called the Unicorn and a messuage called the Hare and Hound in the upper end of St Johns Street, Middlesex for £704, 1 September 1653. (E121/3/4/120)

DISHER, William, of Ipswich, Suffolk, esquire. Captain in Fairfax's horse regiment. Previously he had been cornet and lieutenant of horse in Captain William Ayre's and Captain Berry's troops in Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army. With assigned bills he bought two parcels in St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, one near Tyburn, and the other at the west end of Hyde Park, for £402, 6 June 1651. He also received 214 acres of Theobalds Park, and shared another 40 acres with William Packer, John Gladman and Thomas Malyn. (E121/5/7/14; E121/3/4/74; C54/3690/12; C54/3693/21)

**DISNEY, Thomas**, of Wallingford, Berkshire, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Lambert then Colonel Sir William Constable. He was one of the 7 purchasers of the manor of Hadnock, Monmouthshire, but was not among those who later conveyed it to Lawrence Monney. (Reg. Hist. ii, 398; E121/3/5/25)

**DOILEY, John**, son of Robert Doiley, of Turville Court, Buckinghamshire, gentleman. Samuel Chidley sold him the manor of Ipton cum Turville, Buckinghamshire for £80, 3 September 1653. (C54/3745/18)

**DOLPHIN, Richard**. Captain of horse under Colonel Saunders. Previously he had been captain and captain lieutenant in Colonel Hutchinson's dragoon regiment in Nottinghamshire, and then captain of horse under Colonel Thornhaugh. He and 6 others bought the manor and castle of Tutbury, Staffordshire for £3,245.7.6, 30 June 1652. The same 7 officers also bought several coppices in the manor of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £7,187.16.4, 25 June 1652. They also bought the castle and manor of Kenilworth, The Manor of Wootton, Hog Park, Old Park, Castle Hills Park, the Chase, the royal fishing, and several water grist mills, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £18,775.3.9, 30 July 1651. However he was not among those who granted these last two properties and several others to Thomas Fish. (E121/5/1/22; E121/4/6/101; E121/5/1/2, 18; C54/3875/19)

**DOMVILL, Nicholas**, of London, scrivener. Edmund Chillenden, Edmund Page and John Addis sold him a tenement called the Sugar Loaf in the Strand, Middlesex for £200, 26 May 1654. (C54/3806/19)

**DONNOLT, Thomas**, of London, gentleman. As original creditors he and Edward Gittings bought the manor of Aldrington, Northamptonshire, for £715.2.8, 14 March 1651. (E121/4/1/56)

**DORNEY, Henry**, of London, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Barkstead. He and 6 other officers bought the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £12,583.5.3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, 20 September 1650. They then disposed of most of it to Francis Stanton, John Batersby, Stephen Kirke, Martin Noell, Robert Harbin, William Peters, Edward Hall and Thomas Kelsey. (Reg. Hist. i, 338; E121/2/11/23; C54/3643/23; C54/3644/36; C54/3776/18)

**DOVE, John**, of New Sarum, Wiltshire, esquire. Colonel of foot in Wiltshire. He bought the manor of Shepton Mallet, Somerset for £2,200, 20 March 1652. He, and Walter Bookland, later sold a tenement and 45 acres in the manor to Thomas White and William Ballatt for £200, and divided the rest of the manor between themselves. He also bought two oser islands, the royalty of fishing and the royalty of swans in the river Avon for £216.13.4, 19 January 1652. He also bought the Priors Pond division of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £3,834.10.10, 15 November 1653. With Nicholas Skinner he also bought the Chislehill division of Clarendon Park for £2,957.11.5, 21 February 1654. (Dd8/30/5/16; E121/4/5/93; C54/3685/16; C54/3687/39; E121/5/3/21; E121/5/3/35; E121/5/3/37)

**DOWNING, George**, of Westminster, esquire. In 1653 he was the scoutmaster of the army. For an undisclosed sum Robert Thorpe conveyed to him a messuage in King Street, Westminster, Middlesex, 24 November 1654. (CSPD 1653-4, 285; C54/3812/20)

**DOWNTON, Richard**, of Isleworth, Middlesex, esquire. He bought with Edward Finch a messuage called Neats Court, Kent for £2,132.1.11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, 16 July 1650. They bought as immediate tenants. (E121/2/11/6)



DOWSON, Man, of Loftus, Yorkshire, esquire. Captain of a troop under Coloney Cholmley in the garrison of Graystoke Castle. Previously he had been a reformado in Major Cholmley's troop in Colonel Pinsonby's and Colonel Lilburne's regiments. He bought the manor of the socage of the castle of Carlisle and the toll and tollage of beasts in Cumberland for 1,433.17.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 10 July 1650. (E121/1/7/13)

DRANE, Robert, of Brundish, Suffolk, yeoman. Godfrey Ellis and Andrew Yarranton sold him and two other yeomen the manor of St Edmonds in Brundish with Roadstreet and Wilby, and the manor of Horham Countis, Suffolk, for £1,111.8.11. These manors had originally cost £2,322.17.10. (C54/3564/31; E121/4/7/36)

DREYDON, Thomas, of Breage, Cornwall, gentleman. Nicholas Kempson and Edward Allen sold him the manors of Eialton and Retrerth, Cornwall for £2,600, 16 February 153. (C54/3708/5)

DUCKENFIELD, Robert, of Duckinfield, Cheshire, esquire. Colonel of foot in Cheshire. Previously he had been captain of foot in Sir William Brereton's regiment in Cheshire. He bought herholt Park and New Park, Staffordshire, and the manor of Denbigh, Denbighshire, for £13,171.2.6, 6 May 1651. He and Philip Eytton bought the manor of Brampton, Huntingdonshire and the manor of Handbridge, Cheshire for £6,618.16.9 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 29 November 1651. (E121/5/7/68; C54/3582/10; E121/5/7/43)

DUKE, Charles, of Hackney, Middlesex, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought Earls Meadow near arwick for £272, 6 January 1651. (E121/5/1/9)

DUKE, Thomas. As an immediate tenant he bought a tenement in altham Cross, Hertfordshire for £83.7.4. 10 September 1650. In 1652 Richard Heywood sold him and Thomas Shrewsbury 21 acres in Chesahunt Park, Hertfordshire for £60. (E121/2/9/16; CP25(2)/558, Trinity 152)

DUKESON, Gilbert, of Bolehall in the parish of Tamworth, arwickshire, gentleman. He and William Storer bought from William Combe the manor of Shuttington, Warwickshire for £400, 8 April 1651. (C54/3590/29)

DUNCHE, Edmund, of Little ittenham, Berkshire, esquire. MP for Berkshire and also a captain in the county regiment. Arthur Evelyn sold him the honor and manor of Ewelme, Oxfordshire for £500, 23 August 1650. (Keeler, Members of the Long Parliament, 1640-1641: The Visitation of Berks ire, 1664-1666, p.29; C54/3565/18)

DUNKIN, John. He and Benjamin Burges bought crown land which they sold to Dame Mary Rogers and Thomas Husey.

DYASON, Thomas, of Southwark, Surrey, citizen and leatherseller of London. As an immediate tenant he bought coppices in Egham parish, Surrey for £567.17.9, 20 July 1650. Thomas Millward and Godfrey Ellis sold him a coppice in Chertsey, Surrey for £110, 22 December 1651. (E121/4/8/18; C54/3587/28)

EARLE, Robert. With assigned bills he bought Boznan Hill Farm in the parish of Roade, parcel of the honor of Grafton, Northamptonshire, for £184.5.3, 20 May 1652. (E121/4/1/81)

EAST, John. John Lambert, John lackwell and Adam Baynes sold him 41 acres in Mortlake, Surrey, evidently part of the manor of imbledon, for £120. (CP25(2)/602 Surrey, Trinity 1658)

**EASTON, Alexander.** As an immediate tenant he bought east Sheen Priory, Surrey, for £2,333.11.9, 29 July 1650. (E121/4/8/25)

**EATON, Mathew,** of Croydon, Surrey, yeoman. Humphrey Kelsall sold him and 3 others the manor and hundred of Macclesfield, Cheshire, for £130, 2 July 1651. (C54/3600/45)

**EDMONDS, Benjamin, junior,** of Chertsey, Surrey, wheelwright. As an immediate tenant he bought a messuage and co ice grounds in Chertsey, Surrey, for £117.18.4½, 23 April 1651. (E121/4/8/72)

**EDWARDS, Humphrey,** of Covent Garden, Middlesex, esquire. Recruiter MP for Shropshire; regicide. In two purchases he bought messuages and lands in east Ham, Essex on 17 June 1650 and 20 August 1651 for £2,220.0.4 and £482.0.4, respectively. He also bought the Suffolk Stables in Middlesex and tenements and lands in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £2,246.13.9, 20 May 1651. He evidently shared the purchase with Sir Gregory Norton's son Henry, as they are both found conveying land to Thomas Elmes, Charles Lovell and William Bowen. William Goodrick and Adam Baynes sold him the manor of Richmond, Surrey, with the exception of a few messuages and 'the materialls of the great Fabricke of tene building late covered over with lead'. The manor was evidently bought in trust for Dame Martha Norton. (E121/2/5/39; E121/2/5/\_; E121/5/7/73; C5/412/30)

**ELCOMBE, Hellenor,** of east Ham, Essex, widow. As an immediate tenant she bought a tenement in Church Street in the parish of east Ham, Essex, for £17.6.8, 10 June 1650. (E121/2/5/4)

**ELL, Richard,** of Twickenham, Middlesex, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought lands and tenements in Twickenham, for £668.0.6, 22 March 1651. (E121/3/4/64)

**ELLIOTT, Richard,** churchwarden of the parish of Mary Magdalene, London. He and Robert Wise bought, wit assigned bills, a tenement in the parish of Mary Magdalene, London, for £127.10.0, 23 November 1655. (E121/3/4/136)

**ELLIS, Godfrey,** of the city of Gloucester, esquire. Captain of foot. Previously he had been lieutenant of foot under Colonel Morgan in the garrison of Gloucester. He bought several tenements near the castle of Gloucester for £380, 20 November 1651. With assigned bills he and Griffantius Phillipps bought several rents and lands belonging to the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire, for £1,824.13.0, 14 November 1650. He also bought Castle Park, Staffordshire for £1,709.9.0, 18 June 1650. Ellis bought other crown lands which he later sold to Robert Drane, John Hamling, Henry Smith, Richard Wheatley, John Hall, Thomas Ridge, Edward Rogers, Richard Forbench, Thomas Dyason, Henry Gladman, ir John itewrong, William Leman, Henry Ewer, John King, Alban Cox, John Marsh, Solomon Smyth, William Theed, William Style, Mathew Cadwell, James Berry, William Evanson, Thomas Theed and Thomas Morgan. (E121/5/4/4; E121/2/6/42; E121/2/9/28; E121/4/6/11)

**ELLIS, John,** of London, esquire. For £400 John Houghton and Blount Sadler sold him the liberty and bailiwick of the Savoy, parcel of the honor and duchy of Lancaster in Middlesex for £400, 23 September 1658. The property had originally cost £720. (C54/3991/12; E121/3/4/141)

**ELLIS, William,** of t Albans, Hertfordshire, gentleman. For an undisclosed sum Thomas French sold him and Albertus arren the outh east part of the Maison Dieu in Dover, Kent, 13 February 1654. (C54/3746/16)

ELLYS, Thomas, of Berwick-on-Tweed, gentleman. Probably an officer in Colonel Enwick's or Colonel Lilburne's regiment. He and 10 other officers in these two regiments bought the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. They also bought the manors of Rushden and Randa, Northamptonshire and Gillingham, Kent, for £4,067.14.11, 17 July 1650. He and 14 others conveyed crown land to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Wilkinson and Henry Hedworth. (E121/5/5/5; E121/5/7/18; C54/3835/29)

ELSE, Thomas, of West Haddon, Northamptonshire, esquire. Captain of horse in Fleetwood's regiment. He and 3 others bought Old Enfield Park in Middlesex for £7,519.19.6, 18 February 1652. They granted 44 acres to Peter Steery for £520 in arrears, but he granted the parcel to Else for £455, 23 May 1656. Else also acted as an agent for Fleetwood in his purchase of the manor of Goodstock, (C54/3676/45; C54/3687/17; C54/3911/30)

ELTON, Nicholas, of London, citizen and barber chirurgion. With assigned bills he bought a messuage in Waltham Cross, Hertfordshire for £199.19.8, 20 March 1651. (E121/2/9/39)

EMETT, Samuel, of Landulph, Cornwall, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought a parcel of Landulph manor for £344.5.8, 18 July 1650. (E121/1/6/16)

EMPSON, Thomas, of Enfield, Middlesex, esquire. Lieutenant in Fairfax's horse regiment. William Packer and John Gladman granted him 21 acres in Theobalds Park, 22 April 1652. (CP43/277/3)

ERLING, alter, of London, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse in Colonel Thomlinson's regiment. Previously he had been a trooper under Captain Ashburne and Colonel Harvey in Essex's army; a trooper in Lieutenant General Hammond's troop in Manchester's army, and a trooper under Major Knight and Colonel Thomlinson. He bought the Great Lodge Park in the forest of Alice Holt, Hampshire, for £1,260, 4 May 1654. He bought several parcels of land in Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire for £1,186, 15 July 1653. He also bought the manor of Higham Ferrers from Ralph Margery, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Lacy, Robert Glyn, and John Urlin, for £1,285, 14 December 1652. They had originally paid £1,426.1.4 for the manor. Erling later sold parcels of Higham Ferrers to Thomas Rudd, Henry Freeman, Daniel Pencer and Henry Wadnoe. He conveyed other crown lands to Thomas Johnson, George Gill, John Lilburne, John Browne and Mathew Thomlinson. (E121/1/1/\_; E121/1/6/\_; E121/2/7/114; E121/4/1/92; C54/3673/17; Dd13/20/92/373)

ESTWICK, Suzan, of Egham, Surrey, widow. Edward Orpin sold her and her sons, John and Robert, a tenement in the parish of Egham for £50, 20 October 1653. (C54/3806/38)

ETKINS, George, of the Middle Temple, London, gentleman. John Browne sold him the manors of Northfleet and Newington, Kent for £800, 9 February 1660. Browne had originally paid £1,234.4.4½. (C54/4019/2; E121/2/11/11)

EVANS, Edward, of London, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and two others bought the manor of East and West Deeping, Lincolnshire for £2,159.1.0½, 30 April 1650. (E121/3/3/2)

EVANS, Thomas, of Peterwell, Cardiganshire, esquire. For an undisclosed sum Rice Vaughan and Humphrey Jones conveyed to him and James Phillipps the manors of Mabinion, Maventh, Ywchardin, Talsarn, Pervith and Koveth, and Anhymnooke, Cardiganshire, 9 March 1652. The manors had previously been worth £1,568. (C54/3619/13; E320/ss9)

EVANSON, William, of Colchester, Essex, esquire. Captain of horse in Whalley's regiment. He was a trustee in the purchases of his regiment. He personally acquired half the manor of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire for £1,300, 22 March 1654. To Godfrey Ellis he and James Berry paid £440 for half the lands that Ellis and Yarranton had bought in the manor of Bewdley, Worcestershire, 19 September 1655. Ellis and Yarranton had originally paid £2,002.10.0 for the whole property. (C54/3731/33; C54/3843/21; E121/5/4/11)

EVELYN, Arthur, of Wallingford, Berkshire, esquire. Adjutant General of horse. Previously he had been captain of horse in Essex's army, major and captain of horse in Colonel Henry Marten's regiment in Major General Browne's brigade, and then captain of horse under Colonel Thomas Harrison. He bought the priory of Alvecoate in Warwickshire and Staffordshire for £3,023.1.8, 9 May 1651. He sold other crown lands to Edmund Dunche and William Dawgs. (E121/4/8/57; E121/5/7/16)

EVINGTON, Lady Jane, of Offord Cluny, Huntingdonshire, widow. She and Ann Gouldisborough, as immediate tenants, bought two parcels in Egham, Surrey for £27.4.0 and £81.12.11. on 10 May 1651 and 20 January 1651 respectively. (E121/4/8/71; E121/4/8/70)

EWER, Henry, of Watford, Hertfordshire, esquire. For £90 Godfrey Ellis sold him and 5 other men the great gate of the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire, 6 May 1651. (C54/3591/26)

EYRE, Adam, of London, esquire. Captain. With assigned bills he and Joseph Eyre bought Blandsby Park, Yorkshire for £5,966.7.6, 23 July 1652. They later sold more than half the park to Edward Salmon, William Michell, John Troutbeck, Dennis Pepper, William Lotherington, John Lyth and John Bayly. (E121/5/5/30)

EYRE, Joseph, of Derwent, Derbyshire, gentleman. See under Adam Eyre.

EYTON, Philip, of Chester, esquire. Captain, perhaps under Colonel Duckenfield in Cheshire. Previously he had been a trooper in Captain Thorner's and Captain Bethell's troops in Colonel Maseer's and Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiments in Manchester's army. He bought the manor of Carnarvon, Carnarvonshire, and lands in the parish of Brampton, Huntingdonshire for £2,265.9.9, 5 August 1652. He also bought land on behalf of Colonel Duckenfield. (E121/5/6/50)

EZBERY, Philip, of Exeter, Devon, esquire. Captain of foot in Sir Hardress Waller's regiment. He, John Clerke and Edward Allen bought the manor and Barton House of Tinsten, Cornwall, for £5,166.1.11, 4 November 1650. They sold about half the property to Sir Hardress Waller and Richard Aske. (E1 1/1 6/30)

FARLEY, William, of Rochester. Captain in Sir Thomas Fairfax's foot regiment. He was a regimental trustee in the purchase of Cheshunt Park and the manor house of Beamondhall, Hertfordshire. As his share of the property he received the Mote house and 154 acres in the Park, 8 April 1652. He then granted one third of the messuage and the 154 acres to James Pitson, who then granted them to William Covell, who finally granted them back to Farley. The meaning of this circular transaction is not clear. (E121/2/9/46; C54/3693/19 C54/3695/25; CP25(2)/559, Easter 1655; CP25(2)/559, Trinity 1657)

FARNHAM, Clement, of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and George Hatton bought a tenement in the manor of Theobalds, Hertfordshire for £232.14.0, 21 August 1650. (E121/2 9/12)

**FARRE, Anne.** Henry Barker bought lands in Epworth manor, Lincolnshire, on behalf of Anne Farre for £485, 4 June 1650. (E121/3/3/8)

**FARRE, Ralph,** of London, esquire. Captain of dragoons under Colonel Okey. Previously he had been a gentleman of the lifeguard to Lord Brooke and then quartermaster, cornet and lieutenant of horse to Captain Okey's troop in Sir Arthur Haselrig's regiment in Sir William Waller's army. He bought Eastwick and Spert marsh grounds in Kent for £816.5.4, 13 October 1650. He bought several mills and lands in Dorset on behalf of Nathaniell White, but the property was rated for Farre for £405, 20 March 1651. He, James Heane and Richard Fincher bought Fordington manor, Dorset, for £5,900.0.3, 10 November 1651. Their intention was to sell the manor, and in order to make any sale easier Heane conveyed his share of the manor to Farre and Fincher when he left England. However, only two small sales are recorded, to John Roy and Moses Slade. Farre, Heane and William Harding also bought lands and tenements in Hermitage parish, Dorset, parcel of the manor of Fordington, for £1,351.13.8, 4 November 1651. Again Heane conveyed his share of the purchase to Farre and Fincher in order to make any sales easier, but no sales have come to light. (E121/2/3/43; E121/2/11/26; E121/2/3/26; E121/2/3/44; C54/3729/21; E121/2/3/43; C54/3879/46)

**FARR, William.** As an immediate tenant he bought the White Hart in Shefford, Bedfordshire, for £39.9.0, 3 April 1650. (Dd8/30/5/3; Dd13/20/20/82)

**FARRER, John,** of Clifford, Yorkshire, esquire. William Farrer sold him the manor of Warton, Lancashire for £800, 5 April 1656. (C54/3896/19)

**FARRER, William,** of Ewood, Yorkshire, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Copley. Previously he had been an ensign and captain of foot, then a captain of dragoons, and finally a captain of horse under Ferdinando Lord Fairfax and Colonel Copley. He bought the manor of Warton, Lancashire and lands in Rossington and Brampton, Yorkshire for £1,105.11.9½, 4 July 1650. He sold Warton to John Farrer. (E121/5/7/12)

**FATHERS, John,** of Stoke Climsland, Cornwall, clerk. As an original creditor he bought land in Stoke Climsland, Cornwall, on behalf of Henry Stephens, William Conydon and Margaret Couth for £407.12.4, 7 May 1650. However, only Fathers was rated for the property. John Menheir and Daniel Carter sold Fathers the manors of Stoke Climsland and Rialton, Cornwall, for an undisclosed sum, 6 December 1650. Carter and Menheir had previously £4,031.4.11 for the manors. (E121/1/6/3; C54/3549/35; E121/1/6/11)

**FELL, of Swarthmore,** Lancashire, esquire. George Vaux sold him and Thomas Birch the manor of Haslingdon, Lancashire, a parcel of the honor of Clithere for £350, 27 December 1650. Vaux had originally paid £1,005.5.7 for the manor. (C54/3527/7; E121/3/1/54)

**FENTHAM, George.** Henry Gardner sold him and Joseph Williams 330 acres in Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire for £300, Trinity 155. (CP25(2)/606, Trinity, 1655)

**FENTHAM, Henry,** of Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire, yeoman. He and Henry Gardner bought the manor of Hampton in Arden, but Fentham later turned over his share of the manor to Gardner. In another purchase Fentham acquired several parcels of Hampton in Arden for £821.1.9 28 May 1650. He and Richard Birge later sold 30 acres in Hampton in Arden to Henry Gardner for £41, Trinity 1655. (E121/5/1/1)

FETHER, Joseph, of Kippax, Yorkshire, yeoman. As an immediate tenant he bought a parcel of the manor of Tanahelf, Yorkshire for £342.10.0, 25 September 1650. (E121/5/5/14)

FIENH, Nathaniell, of Oxfordshire, esquire. One of the lords commissioners for the custody of the great seal of England. During the first civil war he was colonel of horse in Essex's army. Thomas Deane and others sold him the warren of conies within the soke of Kirton, Lincolnshire for £360, 8 May 1656. He later sold a small parcel of this to Theophilus Hart. (DNB; C54/3917/18)

FINCH, Edward, of Tenterden, Kent, esquire. As an immediate tenant he and Richard Downton bought a messuage called Neats Court in Kent for £2,132.1.11½, 16 July 1650. (E121/2/11/6)

FINCH, Francis, of London, citizen and clothworker. With assigned bills he bought the manor of Irchester, Northamptonshire for £687.14.7. 15 September 1650. Samuel Chidley sold him the manor of Hitchin, Hertfordshire for £1,874.11.11, 21 February 1652. This was the same price that Chidley had paid for it. (E121/4/1/\_; C54/3693/14; E121/2/9/29)

FINCHER, Richard, of Lawrence altham, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Major of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He was also the quartermaster general of horse in the New Model Army. Previously he had been captain of dragoons, captain of horse and quartermaster general of horse in Sir William Waller's army, and then major of horse under Colonel Sheffield in the New Model. He, Ralph Farre and James Heane bought the manor of Fordington, Dorset for £5,900.0.3, 10 November 1651. Their intention was to sell the manor, and in order to expedite this business, Heane conveyed his share of the manor to Fincher and Farre because he was about to leave the country. He also conveyed to them his share of that part of Fordington manor in Hermitage parish, which had been bought separately, for £1,351.13.8. Small parcels of this combined property were sold to John Roy and Moses Wade, but no record of major transactions has been found. (E121/2/3/44; C54/3729/21; C54/3879/6)

FISH, Thomas, of Goodrest, Warwickshire, gentleman. Richard Creed, Robert Hope, George Palmer and several other men who were not purchasers of crown lands sold him the castle, parks, manor and site of the late monastery of Kenilworth, the manor of Cotton and the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire, for £60,000. This transaction included much non-crown land, but also seems to have comprised a good portion of the castle, manor and parks of Kenilworth bought by the above men and Joseph Hawksworth, Robert Cotehett, Richard Dolphin and Nathaniel Barton in two transactions for £7,187.16.4 and £18,775.3.9. (C54/3875/19; E121/5/12; E121/5/1/18)

FISHER, Francis, of Bathampton, Somerset, gentleman. John Warr sold him and two others half the manor of Englishcombe, Somerset for £484, 11 December 1651. Warr had paid £1,601.12.10 for the whole manor. (C54/3586/38; E121/4/5/73)

FLEETWOOD, Charles, of Glanham, Suffolk, esquire. Colonel of horse. Previously he had been a captain of harquebusiers in Essex's army, and then a colonel of foot and later of horse in Manchester's army. The manor of Goodstock and the hundred of Cotton, Oxfordshire, were bought on his behalf by Griffith Lloyd and other officers in his horse regiment for £17,89.19.9, 11 June 1650. Later they were conveyed to Fleetwood since, it was said, he had satisfied his men's arrears with which the property had been bought. The sum mentioned also included Methwold Warren, Norfolk, which was conveyed to him separately. He also purchased the manors of Methwold and Tockton Socon in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk for

£4,133.3.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 6 September 1650. He also bought Kingswood belonging to the demesnes of the manor of Socon, Norfolk with an assigned bill, for £136.14.0, 7 July 1652. Robert Hammond sold him and 4 others the site and the mansion house of the manor of Chertsey Beaumont, Surrey and the abbey of Reading, Berkshire for an undisclosed sum, 17 June 1651. Hammond had originally paid 3,707.6.9. for the two properties. In 1652 Fleetwood conveyed oodstock, Methwold and Stockton Socon, together with delinquent lands which he had purchased in Suffolk, to Peter Ball and Nathaniel Stirrup for 960. However, since 1652 was the year in which he became commander in chief in Ireland, it is likely that this conveyance was merely a trust, and that the properties remained Fleetwood's. (E121/5/7/14; C54/3703/45; C54/3665/30; E121/5/7/29; E121/3/6/86; C54/3611/43; E121/5/7/44; CP25(2)/616, Trinity 1652)

FLOWER, Richard, of Berwick-upon-Tweed, gentleman. Serjeant of foot in Colonel Overton's own company. He and 16 other officers in Colonel Lilburne's and Colonel Fenwick's regiments bought the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland for £10,320.18.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 7 February 1652. However, he was not one of the 15 who later conveyed the manor to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip ilkinson and Henry Hedworth. He and 10 other officers bought the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.5.4, 29 July 1650. He and 10 others also bought the manors of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire, and Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 17 July 1650. (E121/5/7/18; E121/1/7/57; E121/5/5/5)

FLOWERDEN, Nathaniel, of Eye, Suffolk, draper. Heseckiah Haynes sold him Goswold Wood in Eye, Suffolk for £370, 20 November 1655. Haynes had originally paid £330.11.8 for the property. (C54/3876/21; C54/3872/23)

FLOYD, George, of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, gentleman. He and Robert Thorpe bought a parcel of Theobalds manor, Hertfordshire for £693.13.8, 18 March 1651. The same two men also bought rents, fines, and profits of the honor of Clare, Mandeville Tutbury, etc. in Suffolk, Norfolk, Hertfordshire, etc. for £925.7.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 21 July 1651. (E121/2/9/38; E121/5/7/79)

FORBENCH, Richard, of Ripley in the parish of Send, Surrey, gentleman. James Pitson and Henry Reffewe sold him several parcels of land in the parish of Rudgwick, Sussex for £210, 20 January 1653. They had originally paid £160.3.4 for the property. Godfrey Ellis and Thomas Millward sold Forbench two parcels of woodland in the parish of Chertsey, Surrey for £210, 28 November 1651. (C54/3687/49; E121/4/9/89; C54/3587/27)

FORREST, John, of Eltham, Kent, gentleman. Corporal, possibly in Nathani l Rich's regiment of horse. Francis Rawson sold him 48 acres of arable and pasture called Kings Lease, Broom Fields and Gravel Pits in Eltham, Kent for £200, 25 March 1656. (C54/3882/50)

FORSTER, William, of London, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse in Horton's regiment. He was one of the four purchasers of Beckerings Park, Bedfordshire, which was later conveyed to Thomas Noell. (E121/1/1/26)

PORTYKE, James, of East Greenwich, Kent, gentleman. Azariah Husbands sold him Wethercomb Farm in East Greenwich for £2,240, 3 June 158. (C54/39611. The transaction appears to be duplicated in CP25(2)/564, Trinity 1658)

FOSTER, Mathew, of Westminster, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Captain William Bradford and Colonel Robert Lilburne's regiment. George Smithson, Thomas Lilburne, William Bradford, George Watkinson and Francis ilkinson conveyed to him and John Pearson the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, 1 December 1656. They had originally paid £2,672.0.10 for the property. The property was to be held for the 'profit and advantage' of Foster, Pearson and 11 other men who appear to have been members of Lilburne's regiment. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

FOSTER, Nathaniel, of Lincoln, or of Woodborough, Nottinghamshire, gentleman. Cornet in Twisleton's horse regiment. He was involved in many transactions as an agent for Twisleton's regiment but does not appear personally to have acquired any crown land. (C54/3782/1; C54/3875/31)

FOSTER, William, of London, gentleman. Captain of horse. Previously he had been cornet to Sir Arthur Hasilrig's own troop in Sir William Waller's army. He, Ralph Harrison and Samuel Skelton bought the manor of Kings Cliffe, Northamptonshire for £1,376, 24 February 1651. (E121/4/1/53)

POWELL, Edmund, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire. As an immediate tenant he bought Harewood in Calstock manor, Cornwall for £555.18.0, 17 May 1650. (E121/1/6/5)

POWLER, William, of London, gentleman. As an original creditor he bought parcels of Gillingham Forest, Dorset for £1,673.5.0, 25 February 1651. (E121/2/3/24)

Fox, Consolation, of Oxford, gentleman. Lieutenant of foot under Captain Grimes in Ingoldsby's regiment. He and 9 other officers in the regiment bought the manor of Ingleby, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650. He and 10 other officers bought land in Spalding manor, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. He and 9 other officers bought parcels of the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He and 9 other officers bought Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. Except for the sale of Dorney House to Captain Dawberne, none of these properties seem to have been partitioned. At the restoration Ingleby was in Goldsby's possession. (E121/3/3/31; E121/3/3/115; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45; C54/3789/14)

FOX, John, of Worcester, esquire. He was evidently an officer in Colonel Desborow's regiment of horse. He and 5 other officers of that regiment bought Windsor Great Park in Berkshire and Surrey for £22,755, 14 October 1650. They sold part of it to Desborow. At the restoration most of the park was in the hands of Edward and John Scotton, Richard Southwood, Robert Aldridge and Robert Huntington. (C54/3506/18)

FRANKLIN, Jenkin, of Swansea, Glamorganshire, esquire. Probably an officer in Colonel Philip Jones's foot regiment in Wales. He and five other officers bought the manor of Wendy, Monmouthshire for £2,411.5.10½, 26 August 1650. The same men also bought the manors of Oysterlow, Train-a-March and Trayn-Morgan, Carmarthenshire; the fishing of Gylgarron to Cardigan Bridge, and lands in the parish of Hodgeston, Pembrokeshire, for £2,237.19.8, 30 May 1651. (E121/3/5/32; E121/5/6/51)

FREEMAN, Francis, of Marlborough, Wiltshire, esquire. Captain of dragoons under Colonel Okey. He was one of the 8 regimental trustees for the purchase of the honor and manor of Ampthill, Bedfordshire, but does not appear to have shared in the subsequent partition of the estate. He was also one of the 7 purchasers of Brogborough Park, Bedfordshire, for £11,208.2.6, 3 December 1650. The park was later acquired by John Okey, John Dawberne and Tobias Bridge. He was also one of the 7 purchasers of the Newmarket House, Cambridgeshire for £1,722. (E121/1/1/29; E121/1/1/37; C54/3601/4; E121/1/4/56)

FREEMAN, Henry, of Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, esquire. As an immediate tenant he bought tenements and lands in the manor of Higham Ferrers for £364.1.2½, 19 May 1650. In 1656 Walter Erling and Paul Fetch sold him and 3 others 56 acres in Higham Ferrers. (E121/4/1/8; CP25(2)/582, Easter 1656)



FRENCH, Edward, of Preston, Lancashire, esquire. William Aspinwall sold him the manor of Chartsey, Surrey, 15 November 1656. Aspinwall had originally paid £6,952.11.4½ for the property. (C54/3910/23; E121/4/8/43)

FRENCH, Thomas, of Hereford, esquire. Captain of horse in Nathaniel Rich's regiment. Previously he had been a quartermaster, cornet and lieutenant under Captain Babington in Lord Grey's regiment in Leicestershire, and later a captain of horse in Colonel Birch's regiment in Hertfordshire. He was one of the regimental trustees for the purchases of Colonel Rich's regiment. He acquired for himself the manor of Kingsland, Herefordshire which appears to have been worth £1,104.1.0, 25 June 1650. He conveyed several other crown estates to John Pretymen, John Caitnes, John Ledbrooke, Albert Warren, William Ellis, Samuel Some, Thomas Kidder and Asariah Husbands. (E121/5/7/4)

FRENCH, Thomas, of Cambridge, gentleman. Captain of foot in the Cambridgeshire militia. As an immediate tenant he bought lands in Holbeach, Lincolnshire for £246.18.4, 30 May 1650. As an immediate tenant he also bought a fishing field in Lincolnshire for £154, 8 August 1650. (E121/3/3/6; E121/3/3/19; CSPD 1650, 510)

FRY, William, of Chilton Cantlo, Somerset, gentleman. John Warr sold him and John Taylor 3 messuages in the manor of Ryme Intrinsica, Dorset for £169.10.10, 30 December 1653. He may have been the William Fry who was commissioned as captain of horse in the Devon militia in 1650. (C54/3729/18; CSPD 1650, 504)

FULLER, John, of Hellingly, Sussex, gentleman. John Singleton and John Houghton sold him and Thomas Fuller the manor of Endlewick in the rape of Pevensey, Sussex for £300, 4 February 1656. (C54/3866/9)

FULLER, Thomas, of Catefield, Sussex, gentleman. John Singleton and John Houghton sold him and John Fuller the manor of Endlewick in the rape of Pevensey, Sussex for £300, 4 February 1656. (C54/3866/9)

GAMON, Richard, of the parish of Savoy in the Strand, Middlesex, gentleman. He bought part of the capital messuage of East Greenwich, Kent for £297.13.4, 16 February 1653. (E121/2/11/62)

GARDENER, Samuel of Evesham, Worcestershire, esquire. Edward Dendy sold him and Jonathan Prickman the manor house of Eye, Suffolk for £491.10.0, 6 November 1652. (C54/3699/6)

GARDNER, Henry, of Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire, gentleman. He and Henry Fentham bought the manor of Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire for £2,370.0.8, 20 March 1652. Fentham later turned the whole manor over to Gardner in pursuance of an agreement. He then sold 330 acres in Hampton in Arden to George Fentham and Joseph Williams. Richard Birge and Henry Fentham sold him 30 acres in Hampton in Arden for £41, Trinity 1655. By another purchase Gardner acquired houses, cottages and lands in Adderstone, Warwickshire for £173.15.0, 14 June 1650. (E121/5/1/22; C54/3695/49; CP25(2)/606; E121/5/1/3)

GARDNER, Thomas, of Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire, yeoman. As an immediate tenant he bought several lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £1,864.17.8½, 1 July 1651. (E121/3/3/76)

GARFIELD, Aquila, of London, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought a piece of ground near the Palace Yard in Westminster, Middlesex for £5, 6 November 1658. The land was bought for Richard Gower. (E121/3/4/150)

GARRARD, Sir Jacob, of East Ham, Essex, knight. Robert Smith sold him land in the parish of West Ham, Essex for £60, 4 December 1656. (C54/3883/9)

GARRETT, Stephen. Adrian Scroop sold him and two other men 21 acres of land in the parishes of Moulton and Easton, Lincolnshire for £60, Hilary 1659. (CP25(2)/571, Lincolnshire, Hilary 1658)

GARTHAM, Richard. Robert and Thomas Thorpe sold him and Robert Gylliatt 158 acres and various buildings in Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire for £160, Michaelmas 1658. (CP25(2)/571, Lincolnshire, Michaelmas 1658)

GATE, John, of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, yeoman. He and 3 other immediate tenants bought the Shambles in the Market Place of Hempstead, Hertfordshire for £95.10.0, 20 November 1650. (E121/2/9/31)

GAULER, John, of Cardiff, esquire. Major of foot in Colonel Edward Pritchard's regiment. Previously he had been a captain of foot in Colonel Calmady's regiment. He was one of the 6 regimental trustees who purchased the manor of Wondy, Monmouthshire on behalf of Colonel Philip Jones's regiment for £2,411.5.10½, 26 August 1650. The same 6 also bought the manors of Oysterlow, Train-a-March and Trayn-Morgan, Carmarthenshire, the fishing of Gylgaron to Cardigan Bridge, and lands in the parish of Hodgoston, Pembrokeshire for £2,237.19.8, 30 May 1651. He, Philip Jones and Henry Morgan also bought the custom called a seemortha of £56.16.0, payable every second year within the manor of Brecon, Brecknockshire for £482.16.0, 4 February 1652. (E121/3/5/32; E121/5/6/51; C54/3603/10)

GEWEN, Thomas, of Bradninch, Cornwall, esquire. William Combey conveyed to him the manor of Boyton and the Barton house of Bradninch, Cornwall in 1653 and 1656. Combey had originally paid £4,287.6.2 for the properties. (C54/3688/33; C54/3912/43; E121/1/6/66)

GIBBON, Robert, of Canterbury, Kent, esquire. Major of horse under Commissary General Ireton. Previously he had been captain of a troop of horse under Michael Livesey in Kent and in Sir William Waller's army. He bought the High Court of the liberty of the dissolved monastery of St Augustine in Kent for £914.7.5½, 31 May 1653. He also bought the manors of East Peckham, Datchurst, Penshurst and East Farleigh, Kent for £1,777.13.1½, 7 September 1650. (E121/2/11/51; E121/2/11/17)

GILBERT, Thomas, of Boston, Lincolnshire, tailor. He may have been a soldier in Colonel Syler's regiment in the garrison of Boston. In performance of a trust Edward Southes conveyed to him and Thomas and several tenements and 20 acres in the manor of Hogethorpe, Lincolnshire, 1 September 1653. Southes also sold him and 5 others 150 acres and various tenements in Hogethorpe for an undisclosed sum, Michaelmas 1653. (CP43/283/22; CP25(2)/569, Lincolnshire, Michaelmas 1653.)

GILES, Edmund, of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. Mathew Scarborough and John Worsley sold him and George Hooper land in Claythorpe, Lincolnshire for £45, 1 January 1656. (C54/3919/40)

GILL, Edward. With assigned bills he bought the hare warren, Royston House, and a small tenement in Gildon Moreton, Cambridgeshire for £240, 30 December 1650. (E121/1/4/32)

GILL, George, of Beeston, Yorkshire, esquire. Major of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Ralph Margery and 4 other officers of Thomlinson's regiment sold him, John Browne and John Lilburne Theobalds House, Hertfordshire for £5,647.17.0, 5 December 1651. This property had originally cost £10,579.15.4. Gill, Browne and Lilburne do not appear to have kept any of it to themselves, but conveyed it to William Kiffin, John Seale, William Pollicott, Richard Croke, John Spencer, Richard Heywood, John Sparrow and William May. (C54/3692/26; Dd13/20/92/371)

GILLOTT, John, of Nottingham, gentleman. He was one of the trustees for Colonel Hutchinson's regiment, but conveyed all the property which he acquired to Colonel Hutchinson, John Reeklisse, Richard Mortlock, Thomas Lyndley, John Athey, James Rotherham and Lawrence Collin.

GITTINGS, Edward, of London, merchant. He had been a captain of foot under Colonel Portescue. He and Thomas Donnolt bought the manor of Aldrington, Northamptonshire for £715.2.8, 14 March 1651. He also conveyed crown land to John Inwood, Shadrach Brisse and Robert Hammond. (E121/3/3/44; E121/4/1/56)

GLADMAN, Henry, one of the sons of Ralph Gladman, of St Albans, Hertfordshire, baker. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillippe sold him Kings Mead in the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire for £5, 24 December 1650. (C54/3589/5)

GLADMAN, John, of Enfield, Middlesex, esquire. Captain of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been a quartermaster, cornet and lieutenant in Lieutenant General Cromwell's own troop in Manchester's army. He was one of the regimental trustees for Fairfax's regiment in the purchase of Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire. He personally acquired 250 acres of the Park. He also shared 40 acres with 3 other officers and another 116 acres with William Packer. He subsequently conveyed several parcels to John Strange, John Spencer, Samuel Noone, Jonathan and Joseph Prickman and John Impson. (E121/5/7/14; C54/3690/9; C54/3693/21; C54/3693/23)

GLASCOCKE, William, of Lincoln's Inn, esquire. He and William Turpin bought Hamonds tenement, Essex and then sold it to John Clarke and James Clarke. (E121/2/5/7)

GLOVER, John, of London, Doctor in Physick. Mathew Scarborough and Roger Daniell sold him and John Hale several lands in the parishes of Whaplode and Cowbit, part of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire, 22 March 1653. (C54/3734/21)

GLYNN, Robert, of London, esquire. Captain of horse in Colonel Thomlinson's regiment. Previously he had been a gentleman in the earl of Essex's lifeguard and a lieutenant to Captain Herriett Washborne's troop in Colonel Harvey's regiment in the London brigade. He was one of the trustees in the regimental purchase of Thomlinson's regiment, but personally seems to have acquired nothing. (E121/1/1/\_; E121/1/6/\_)

GOFFE, William, of London, esquire. Lieutenant colonel of foot in Pride's regiment. Previously he had been a quartermaster and a captain in Colonel Barclay's foot regiment in the earl of Essex's army. He was one of the trustees for Fairfax's regiment in the purchase of Cheshunt Park and the manor house of Epsomdhall. He personally acquired the great lodge in Cheshunt Park and 160 acres of land, 8 April 1652. (E121/2/9/46; C54/3693/20)

GOLDSMITH, John, of London, gentleman. He bought the great lodge park in the forest of Alice Holt in the parish of Binstead, Hampshire for £1,260, 12 September 1654. (C54/3778/7)

GOODMAN, Anne, widow. As an immediate tenant she bought a tenement in Grafton Regis, Northamptonshire for £202.4.10, 2 March 1651. She also bought a messuage in the honor of Grafton for £97.15.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 14 August 1650. (E121/4/1/21; E121/4/1/\_)

GOODRICKE, William, of York, esquire. Lieutenant colonel of foot in Colonel Thorneton's regiment. Previously he had been captain and serjeant-major of foot in Colonel Sir John Hotham's regiment, captain of horse in Lord Ferdinando Fairfax's regiment, serjeant major in Colonel Sir William Constable's regiment of horse, and captain and lieutenant colonel of foot in Colonel Legard's regiment. He, Adam Baynes and Thomas Rookby bought the manor of Richmond, Surrey for £13,562.0.6, 31 August 1650. They sold parts of the property to Abraham Tuffnaye, Humphrey Edwards and Henry and John Carter, but seem to have kept a large part of it for themselves. Goodricke also bought the manor of Wetwang, Yorkshire for £1,017.3.0, 16 November 1652. (E121/4/8/37; E121/5/5/32)

GOODWIN, James, of London, esquire. Lieutenant, probably in Colonel Desborow's horse regiment. He was one of the 6 regimental trustees in the purchase of Windsor Great Park, Surrey for £22,755, 14 October 1650. He personally acquired 88 acres of the park. (C54/3506/18; Crest 6/2/60)

GOODWIN, John, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire. Dalston Shafto and Richard Nonnelly conveyed to him and William LeHunt Grafton and Potterspury Park, Northamptonshire, 18 September 1651. The park had originally cost £18,228.6.2. Goodwin and LeHunt were only trustees for Viscount William Monson who was the real purchaser of the estate. (C54/3635/13; E121/4/1/16; C5/19/88)

GOODWIN, Thomas, of St Magdalen College, Oxford, Doctor of Divinity. He acquired two tenths of the manor of Sayes Court, Kent from William Prettyman, John Morris, Martin Noell, Thomas Buckner, John Batterby, Stephen Kirke and Robert Harbin for an undisclosed sum, 30 September 1658. (C54/3999/43,44)

GORGES, John, of Poundisford, Somerset, esquire. Major of foot in Colonel Hodge's regiment in Devon. Previously he had been captain of dragoons under Colonel Constable, captain of foot under Sir William Waller in the garrison and castle of Exeter. He and Thomas Saunders bought the honor, manor and borough of Bradninch, Devon for £19,517.11.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 22 March 1651. They sold about half of it to Richard Clapp, Gabriel Barnes, Lawrence Saunders and Thomas Westlake. They also bought the manors of Poolmayne and Eastway, Cornwall for £1,277.8.8, 9 December 1650. (E121/2/2/25; E121/1/6/41)

GOUGH, William, of Marlborough, Wiltshire, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Captain Baker in Colonel Thomas Harrison's regiment. Previously he had been a harquebusier and a cornet in the same regiment. He was one of the trustees for Harrison's regiment's purchase of Marylebone Park, Middlesex for £13,215.6.8, 7 September 1650. He conveyed parts of the estate to Edmund Tapp, John Spencer, Thomas Harrison and John Barker. He and John Barker acquired 120 acres in the park which they leased out for £160 per annum. (E121/3/4/27; Crest 6/2/225)

GOUGH, William, of Berwick-on-Tweed, esquire. Captain of foot in Colonel Overton's regiment. Previously he had been an ensign under Captain Wilkinson in Lord Robert's regiment in Essex's army, and a lieutenant to Captain Melvill in Lord Robert's regiment in Essex's army. He was one of the 17 purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland for £10,320.18.5½, 7 February 1652. The manor was bought for Colonel Fenwick's and Colonel Lilburne's regiments. It was later conveyed to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Wilkinson and Henry Hedworth. At the restoration it was in the possession of Thomas Lilburne. He was one of the 11 purchasers of the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He was also one of the 11 purchasers of the manors of Rushden and Hands, Northamptonshire and Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½, 17 July 1650. (11 7 57; 5 29; r 6/1/11, 2; 1 1/ 5 5; 21 7/ 1)

GOULBOURNE, Thomas, of Heyford, Northamptonshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he and William Tibbs bought parcels of wood ground in the manor of Blisworth, Northamptonshire for £342.1.8, 24 January 1651. (E121/4/1/51)

GOULDISBOROUGH, Augustine, of East Knoyle, Wiltshire, gentleman. As original creditors he and Nicholas Greene bought demesnes of the manor of Mere, Wiltshire for £3,513.8.0, 21 February 1651. (E121/5/3/15)

GOULDSBOROUGH, Ann, of Offord Cluny, Huntingdonshire, widow. With assigned bills she and Lady Jane Evington bought Combes messuage, Surrey for £81.12.11, 20 January 1651. They also bought a parcel in the manor of Egham, Surrey for £27.4.0, 10 May 1651. (E121/4/8/70, 71)

GOULDSMITH, Daniell, of London, gentleman. Captain. He bought Well Close in Whitechapel and Stepney, Middlesex for £286, 17 March 1651. (E121/3/4/63)

GRANGE, Edward. William Combey sold him and Richard Graves 264 acres in Rudfen and the moiety of the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire, for an undisclosed sum, Trinity 1654. (CP25(2)/606, Trinity 1654)

GRANT, John. He and Henry Hale bought Bassets Moore division of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £543, 12 November 1656. (E121/5/3/41)

GRANTHAM, Lincolnshire, the aldermen and burgesses thereof. Tolls and other revenues in Grantham were bought on their and Mr Coney's behalf by John Nelthorpe and Mr Bury for £249.2.10, 16 July 1650. (E121/3/3/20)

GRAVES, John, of Spalding, Lincolnshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought a parcel of the manor of Spalding called the Sheats, Lincolnshire for £232.8.0, 19 November 1654. (E121/3/3/128)

GRAVES, Richard, of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. As an immediate tenant he bought the manor of Kennington, Surrey for £2,065.0.7½, 22 March 1650. In 1654 William Combey sold him and Edward Grange 264 acres in Rudfen and the moiety of the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire for an undisclosed sum. (E121/4/8/1; CP25(2)/606, Trinity 1654)

GREENE, Edward, of Grub Street, London, gentleman. He and John Rushworth bought several tenements near Charing Cross, Middlesex and a parcel of the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £1,043, 29 April 1656. They also bought several rents payable out of the forest of Bowland in the honor of Clitheroe, Lancashire, and the manor of Newnham, Bedfordshire for £3,570.17.11, 11 February 1657. They later sold the manor of Newnham to Arthur Young. Robert Thorpe sold Greene several parcels of the manor of Stoke under Hamdon in the parish of East and West Stoke, Somerset for £1,650, 4 November 1657. (E121/3/4/142; E121/5/7/146; C54/3920/3; C54/3984/46)

GREENE, Henry, of Dunton, Essex, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he and Thomas Rogers bought marsh lands in the parishes of Pevensy and Westham, Sus ex for £1,295.13.8, 20 September 1650, (E121/4/9/38)

GREENE, Humphrey, of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire, yeoman. He and John Poole bought from Samuel Chidley an old decayed messuage in the manor of Greens-Norton for £20, 27 December 1651. (C54/3669/27)

GREENE, John, of London, gentleman. He bought tenements in Redcow Alley near the Tower of London and then conveyed them to Richard Mountney, (E121/3/4/66)

GREENE, Nicholas, of Brooke Place, Wiltshire, esquire. As original creditors he and Augustine Gouldisborough bought demesnes of the manor of Mere, Wiltshire for £3,513.8.0, 21 February 1651, (E121/5/3/15)

GREENE, William, of Westminster, gentleman. John Blackwell and Edward King sold him 15 acres of wood ground in the parish of Egham, Surrey for £100, 5 February 1658. (C54/3945/21)

GREY, George the younger, of Suddick, Yorkshire, gentleman. John Sanderson bought part of the manor of Thwing, Yorkshire in trust for Grey. The whole manor had cost £1,235.1.4, Grey's share was conveyed to him on 17 October 1651. (E121/5/5/3; C54/3630/23)

GRIFFIN, Thomas, of Great St Bartholemews, London, gentleman. He and Richard Babington bought several houses belonging to the capital messuage of Greenwich, Kent for £979.3.0, 15 February 1653. (E121/2/11/56)

CRIME, John, of Oxford, gentleman. Captain of foot under Colonel Ingoldsby. Previously he had been ensign and lieutenant to Major Fry's company in Lord Robert's regiment of foot in Essex's army. He was one of 10 purchasers of the manor of Ingleby, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650. He was one of the 11 purchasers of lands and buildings in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of lands in the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He was one of the 10 purchasers of the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall and Dorney House, Surrey. There is no record of a partition of any of these estates, except for the sale of Dorney House to John Dawberne. (E121/3/3/31; E121/3/3/115; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45)

GROSVENOR, John. As original creditors, he and 3 others bought the manor of Stradbroke and Stubcroft, Suffolk for £1,929.16.10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, 28 October 1650. (E121/4/7/50)

GROVE, John, of Westminster, esquire. Major of horse under Colonel Whalley. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain Henry Vaughan's troop in Nathaniel Fiennes's regiment in the garrison of Bristol; then lieutenant to the same troop in Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army, and then captain of a troop in Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army. He was one of the trustees for Whalley's regiment, and personally acquired Bestwood Park, Nottinghamshire for £6,953.8.3, 20 June 1654. On 15 March 1654 he acquired five of the 22 tenements in the Strand, that were sold to the regiment for £4,095.12.4. (E121/2/5/51; E121/4/2/40; C54/3814/4; C54/3719/12; E121/3/4/51)

GUY, Marmaduke. He was probably an officer in the Northern Brigade. He was one of the 13 men for whom the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire was bought for £2,672.0.10, 15 August 1650. (E121/5/5/8; C54/3901/4)

GYLLIATT, Robert. Robert and Thomas Thorpe sold him and Richard Gartham 158 acres in Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire for £160. (CP25(2)/571, Michaelmas 1658)

HADDOCK, John. Jeremy Baynes bought the Rangers division in Bowood Park, Wiltshire on behalf of himself and John Haddock for £860.2.6, 2 February 1654. (E121/5/3/36)

HAINES, Abraham, of the parish of St Sepulchre, London, gentleman. George Smithson and others sold him, Edward Smith and John Webb several fields and coppices in Belton, Lincolnshire for £1,000, 19 November 1653. (C54/3733/16)

HALE, Edward. With assigned bills he bought rents and perquisites in the honor of Leicester, Northamptonshire for £209.1.3 $\frac{1}{4}$ , 9 July 1655. (E121/4/1/99)

HALE, Henry, of Chalcoett, Wiltshire, yeoman. He and John Grant bought the Bassetts Moore division in Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £543, 12 November 1656. (E121/5/3/41)

HALE, John, of London, merchant. Mathew Scarborough and Roger Daniell sold him and John Glover several lands in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum, 22 March 1653. (C54/3734/21)

HALE, Michael, of St Andrews in Holborn, London, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Captain Robotham in Colonel Sheffield's regiment. In performance of a trust Edward Southes conveyed to him and William Throokmorton meadow and pasture land in Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire, 20 June 1653. (E121/3/3/90; CP43/283/56)

HALES, Sir Edward, knight and baronet. Richard Downton and Edward Finch bought a messuage called Neats Court, Kent on behalf of Hales for £2,132.1.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 16 July 1650. (E121/2/11/6)

HALFORD, Stephen, gentleman. Andrew Yarranton sold him 55 acres in Newington, Faresley and Tamworth, Warwickshire for £60. (CP25(2)/605, Warwickshire, Michaelmas, 1652)

HALL, Edward, of London, wallendraper. John Barkstead and others sold him and William Peters the great barn and 64 acres of land in the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £500, 25 January 1652. (C54/3644/36)

HALL, Henry, of Lylling, Yorkshire, esquire. Mathew Scarborough and Roger Daniell sold him parcels of pasture in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum, 22 March 1653. (C54/3720/39)

HALL, John, of Chertsey, Surrey, yeoman. Thomas Milward and Godfrey Ellis sold him and Thomas Ridge a parcel of woodland in the parish of Chertsey for £150, 20 June 1651. (C54/3581/15)

HALLADAY, James, of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, gentleman. As original creditors he and Philip Hill bought the herbage and pannage of Radholme Park, Yorkshire for £896.10.0, 20 February 1652. (E121/5/5/24)

HAISALL, William, of Hartleton, Lancashire, esquire. Jeremiah Whitworth and Humphrey Kelsall sold him, Ralph Standish and William Parkinson <sup>u/</sup>Worcester Park within the forest of Alnchurness, Lancashire for £440, 11 December 1652. (C54/3672/16)

HALSALL, Alexander, of London, gentleman. John Lambert sold him and Marmaduke Heath Sheriff Hutton Park, Yorkshire for £1,000, 8 November 1651. The park had originally cost £1,668.9.4½. (C54/3625/32; E121/5/5/18)

HAMLING, John, of Earl Soham, Suffolk, yeoman. Godfrey Ellis and Andrew Yarranton sold him, Robert Drane and Henry Smith the manor of St Edmunds in Brundish with Roadstreets and ilby in Suffolk, and also the manor of Horham Countis, Suffolk for £1,111.8.11, 25 September 1650. (C54/3564/31)

HAMMOND, John. With assigned bills he bought 2 messuages near Charing Cross, Middlesex for £164, 23 February 1652. (E121/3/4/94)

HAMMOND, Robert, of Chertsey, Surrey, esquire. Colonel of foot under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been captain of foot under Sir John Hotham, captain lieutenant to the Earl of Essex's lifeguard, major of horse in Major General Massey's regiment, and colonel of foot and captain of horse in the city of Exeter. He bought crown land in Surrey and Berkshire but conveyed it to Sir Robert Pye, Charles Fleetwood, Sir John Temple, John Trevor, Richard Knightly and Richard Hampden. (E121/5/7/44)

HAMMOND, Thomas of Hanworth, Middlesex, esquire. Lieutenant general of the ordnance. Previously he had been captain of horse in Colonel Fry's and Colonel Meldrum's regiments in Essex's army; a captain of horse in the earl of Manchester's regiment and army; and the lieutenant general of the ordnance and captain of firelocks belonging to the train of artillery in the earl of Manchester's army. He bought the manor of Byfleet and Weybridge, Surrey for £3,079.0.6, 5 July 1653. (E121/4/8/58)

HAMOND, William, of Westminster, Middlesex, carpenter. Anthony Deane sold him and Francis Stone 23 acres of Hyde Park for £403.13.0, 19 February 1657. (C54/3936/37)

HAMPDEN, Richard, of Hampden, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Robert Hammond sold him and 5 others Reading Abbey, Berkshire and the manor house of Chertsey Beaumont, Surrey for an undisclosed sum, 17 June 1651. The two properties had originally cost £3,707.6.9. (C54/3611/43; E121/5/7/44)

HANCOCKE, Thomas, of Plymouth, Devon, esquire. Cornet in Plymouth garrison. He bought the manors of Penlean and Penketh, Cornwall for £307.2.8½, 5 September 1650. He bought the manor of Treworgay, Cornwall for £813.19.10, 5 September 1650. He bought the manor of Gredice, Cornwall for £565.0.8, 6 September 1650. (E121/1/6/10; E121/1/6/23; E121/1/6/22; E121/1/6/21)

HANNAM, Elnathan, of Chichester, Sussex, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought Russells Farm, Surrey for £419.13.4, 16 August 1650. (E121/4/8/40)

HANSON, Thomas, of Westminster, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and Robert Ilson bought 2 fishing fields in the manor of Crowland, Lincolnshire, for £201, 21 October 1650. (E121/3/3/42)

HARBY, Nicholas. Edward Southes bought a parcel of Spalding manor, Lincolnshire on behalf of Harby for £64.6.0, 9 August 1651. (E121/3/3/82)

HARDESTY, William, of Norwood, Yorkshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he and 3 others bought the manor of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £2,680.12.0, 22 November 1651. He and three others bought royalties within the forest of Knaresborough for £240, 24 April 1652. (E121/5/5/19; E121/5/5/27)



HARDING, William, of Weymouth, Dorset, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Heane in Weymouth garrison. Previously he had been captain lieutenant of foot under Colonel William Siddenham in Weymouth; and lieutenant to Captain Williams's company of foot in Sandford Castle in Dorset. He, Ralph Farr and James Heane bought lands and tenements in Hermitage parish, Dorset for £1,351.13.8, 4 November 1651. He sold John Roy his share of this property for £650. (E121/2/3/43, 44)

HARDWICKE, Robert and William. Adrian Seroop sold them and Stephen Garrett 21 acres in the parishes of Moulton and Weston, Lincolnshire for £60, Hilary 1658-9. (CP25(2)/571, Hilary 1658.)

HARRINGTON, Sir James, of Swakeleys, Middlesex, baronet. With assigned bills he bought several parcels in the manor of Grafton, Northamptonshire for £8,120, 3 May 1653. (E121/4/1/89)

HARRIOTT, Robert, of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, gentleman. As immediate tenants, he and Henry Mourton bought the manor of Brigstock for £1,499.2.0, 4 February 1651. (E121/4/1/49)

HARRIS, Nathaniel, of Ryne Intrinsicca, Dorset, gentleman. John Warr sold him a tenement and several closes in the parish of Ryne Intrinsicca for £200, 20 January 1654. (C54/3729/19)

HARRISON, James, of London, esquire. Captain of foot in Major General Skippon's regiment. He was one of 10 purchasers of the manor of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Clewer, Berkshire; Corsham, Wiltshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire, but he conveyed his share to Maurice Bowen. (E121/5/7/35)

HARRISON, John, of Kiplin, Yorkshire, yeoman. Thomas Lilburne and 14 others sold him and 3 others the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland for an undisclosed sum, 2 February, 1655. The manor had originally cost £10,320.18.5½. (C54/3835/29; E121/1/7/57)

HARRISON, John, esquire. Anthony Rous sold him and Francis Rous and others the manor of Helston and half the toll of tin in Tywernhail, Helston in Kerrier and Tewinton, Cornwall for between £300 and £400. (CP25(2)/541, Trinity 1657.)

HARRISON, Ralph, of London, woollendrapier, Colonel of the yellow regiment in 1647. He bought the Spittle House near Holloway for £130.10.0, 14 March 1651. He, William Foster and Samuel Skelton bought the manor of King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire for £1,376, 24 February 1651. (DNB, corrections, sub Thomas Harrison; E121/3/4/98; E121/4/1/53)

HARRISON, Thomas, of Westminster, Middlesex, esquire. Colonel of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been captain of horse under Colonel Sheffield in Essex's army, and then major of horse under Colonel Fleetwood in Manchester's and Fairfax's armies. He bought the manor of Tottenham, Middlesex for £4,633.4.10, 24 September 1650. He made a further purchase of lands and tenements in the same manor for £1,563.12.9, 19 September 1650. He bought the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire for £1,538.4.7, 6 December 1653. He acquired close to half of Marylebone Park, Middlesex, for which the trustees of his regiment had paid £13,215.6.8. (E121/3/4/39,40; E121/4/6/112; Crest 6/2/224-6; E121/3/4/27)

HART, Edward, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought a parcel of the manor of Tring, Hertfordshire for £175.12.4, 16 November 1650. (E121/2/9/34)

HART, Theophilus, of Birkwood in the parish of Reasby, Lincolnshire, esquire. Major of horse in Twisleton's regiment. As his share of the regimental purchases of Twisleton's regiment he acquired the manor house of Kirton in Lindsey and several parcels of land in Lincolnshire for £1,051.13.6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, 4 June 1655; and the manor of Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire for £1,428.3.3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, 4 June 1655. Nathaniel Piennes sold him a parcel of meadow in Kirton Great Jugs, Lincolnshire for £13, 27 June 1656. Richard Skepper sold him and Nehemiah Rawson the brovage of the East and West Fens, Lincolnshire for £500, 22 July 1656. (C54/3872/22; 25; C54/3918/34; C54/3924/23)

HARTHORNE, Henry. Adam Baynes sold him 19 acres in Holdenby, Northamptonshire for £41. (CP25(2)/581, Trinity 1652)

HASLIRIG, John, of Harlstone, Northamptonshire, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought a messuage in Grafton, Northamptonshire for £169.14.6, 16 February 1651. (E121/4/1/20)

HASSALL, John, of Thornton, Yorkshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought several tenements in New Malton, Yorkshire for £144, 4 February 1653. (E121/5/5/33)

HASSELL, Ralph, of Pickering Lyth, Yorkshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he and Thomas Hassell bought lands and tenements within the manor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £2,425.1.5, 7 January 1652. (E121/5/5/22)

HASSELL, Robert, of London, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and Richard Williams bought the manor of East Moulsey Prior, Surrey for £912.4.0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, 30 April 1650. (E121/4/8/3)

HASSELL, Thomas, of London, merchant-taylor. With assigned bills he and Ralph Hassell bought lands and tenements within the manor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £2,425.1.5, 7 January 1652. (E121/5/5/22)

HATFIELD, Mary, of London, widow. She bought a tenement called Clement Dodd in the parish of Rainham, Essex for £263, 9 July 1655. (E121/2/5/\_)

HATSELL, Henry, of Plymouth, Devon, gentleman. Captain of foot in Plymouth Garrison. He and Richard Burthogge bought Portlee manor, Cornwall for £1,743.16.11, 20 June 1650. (E121/1/6/10)

HATTON, George, of London, goldsmith. As immediate tenants he and Clement Farnham bought a tenement in Theobalds manor, Hertfordshire for £232.14.0, 21 August 1650. (E121/2/9/12)

HAUGHTON, John, of Croydon, Surrey, yeoman. Humphrey Kelsall sold him and 3 others the manor and hundred of Macclesfield, Cheshire for £130, 2 July 1651. Kelsall had originally paid £267.10.0. for the property. (C54/3600/45; E121/1/5/37)

HAWKRIDGE, John, of Cranham, Essex, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Captain Merriman in Rich's regiment. Previously he had been a trooper in Colonel Nathaniel Piennes's troop in the garrison of Bristol, and then a cornet under Captain Thomas Nevill in Manchester's regiment and army. He bought parcels of land in east Ham, Essex for £396.6.4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, 12 July 1650. (E121/2/5/9)

**HAWKSWORTH, Joseph**, of arwick, esquire. Governor of Warwick. Previously he had been a major of horse under Colonel Purefoy. He was one of the 7 purchasers of the manor and castle of Tutbury, Staffordshire, 30 June 1652 for £3,245.7.6. He was also one of 7 purchasers of the castle, honor and manor of Kenilworth, the manor of ootton, Hogg Park, Old Park, Castle Hills Park, the Chase, the Royal Fishing and several water grist mills, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire, in two conveyances for £7,187.16.4 and £18,775.3.9, on 25 June 1652 and 30 July 1651 respectively. He and three others later sold much of the above purchases in Warwickshire to Thomas Fish. He also sold some parcels in Kenilworth to George Sedascue. (CSPD 1649-50, 640; E121/4/6/101; E121/5/1/2; E121/5/1/18)

**HAYBORNE, Robert**, of Battersea, Surrey, gentleman. He and Margaret Horsey bought, with assigned bills, a parcel of the manor of Rosedale, Yorkshire for £570.9.9, 23 February 1652. (E121/5/5/25)

**HAYNES, Heseekiah**, of Copford, Essex. Major of horse under Charles Fleetwood. Previously he had been captain of horse under Colonel Twisleton. He participated in the regimental purchases of Twisleton's regiment but sold his properties to Nathaniel Flowerdew and Ralph Wolmer. (E121/5/7/38)

**HAYSOME, John**, of Dorchester, Dorset, merchant. John Alford sold him and Robert Haysome a messuage in Fordington, Dorset for £140, 12 January 1658. (C54/3934/16)

**HAYSOME, Robert**, of Anderston, Dorset, clerk. John Alford sold him and John Haysome a messuage in Fordington, Dorset for £140, 12 January 1658. (C54/3934/16)

**HEANE, James**, of Weymouth, Dorset, esquire. Colonel of foot and governor of Weymouth garrison and Sandford Castle. Previously he had been a captain of foot in Gloucestershire; captain of horse under Colonel Siddenham in Dorset; lieutenant colonel of foot under Colonel Butler in the garrison of Wareham; and captain of foot under Colonel Bingham in Dorset. He bought the manor of Long Bredy or Ryme Extrinsica for £2,722.16.8, 8 January 1652. He, Richard Fincher and Ralph Farre bought Fordington manor, Dorset for £5,900.0.3, 10 November 1651. He, Ralph Farre and William Harding bought lands and tenements in Hermitage parish for £1,351.13.8, 4 November 1651. He later conveyed his shares in the last two properties to Fincher and Farre because he was 'to travell into remote parts' and did not want to hinder the sale of the properties. (E121/2/3/44; E121/3/4/18; E121/2/3/47; E121/2/3/43; C54/3729/21; C54/3879/46)

**HEARNE, George**, of Oxford, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought cottages in the parish of Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire for £70, 4 July 1655. (E121/4/3/98)

**HEATH, Marmaduke**, of London, gentleman. John Lambert sold him and Alexander Halsall Sheriff Hutton Park, Yorkshire for £1,000, 8 November 1651. Lambert had previously paid £1,668.9.4½ for the property. (C54/3625/32; E121/5/5/18)

**HEDWORTH, Henry**, of Chester, Durham, gentleman. An officer (by 1654 a captain), in Lambert's foot regiment. George Smithson and fourteen others conveyed to him, John Harrison, Richard Burdus and Philip Wilkinson the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland, 2 February 1655. The manor had originally cost £10,320.18.5½. At the restoration it was in Thomas Lilburne's possession. (Reg. Hist. ii, 401; C54/3835/29; E121/1/7/57; Crest 6/1/11, 232)

HELSHAM, Arthur, of Limerick, Ireland, esquire. Captain of foot under Major General Skippon. He and 9 others bought the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Clewer, Berkshire; Corsham, Wiltshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire for £3,771.12.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 23 July 1651. He sold his share to Maurice Bowen. (E121/5/7/35; C54/3855/21)

HEMSDELL, John, of London, merchant. He bought Oakmills in Shippon, Berkshire for £474.13.4, 7 September 1652. He bought lands in Shippon parish, Berkshire for £651.13.4, 12 August 1659. He bought several parcels in Sutton Courtenay parish, Berkshire for £46.5.4, 28 September 1653. He bought copyholds in Shippon manor for £2,153.6.4, 8 November 1653. He and John Houghton bought two parcels of meadow ground in the parish of Greshunt, Hertfordshire for £78, 10 May 1658. He bought several cottages and a piece of ground called Heyhill near Hyde Park, Middlesex for £36, 12 February 1657. He bought tenements in Tamworth parish, Warwickshire for £90.13.4, 12 April 1652. He also bought other properties which he sold to Thomas Cooper, Henry Pinckney, Edmund Lord Burnell and Robert Painsfort. (E121/1/2/40; E121/1/2/49; E121/1/2/50; E121/1/2/49; E121/2/9/64; E121/3/4/149; E121/5/1/23)

HENCHMAN, Daniel, of London, salter. Serjeant of foot under Major Artell in Hewson's regiment. Previously he had been ensign under Captain Ezbery in Hardress Waller's foot regiment; quartermaster in Sir William Waller's own regiment and army; ensign under Lieutenant Colonel Dobson in Waller's army; and cornet of dragoons under Captain George in Waller's army. He was also ensign under Colonel Stevens in Waller's army. He, Humphrey Jones and Nathaniel Bonich bought quit rents and other revenues in High Peak manor, Derbyshire for £1,496.5.0, 4 December 1650. The same three also bought the manor of High Peak for £800.6.8, 14 August 1652. They conveyed High Peak to John Okey and William Crofts, who conveyed it to Henchman, Alexander Brayfield, John Silverwood and Thomas Jeines to be held on behalf of 17 officers in Hewson's regiment. On 9 July 1656 the same four also acquired the manor of Widnes, Lancashire, which had originally cost £1,083.19.0. He, Humphrey Jones, Nathaniel Bonich and John Grosvenor bought the manor of Stradbroke and tuboroft, Suffolk for £1,929.16.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 28 October 1650. He and William Murford bought a Water Grist Mill in Wiltshire for £535.9.4, 21 July 1652. He and Peter De Salle Nova also bought property which they conveyed to William Murford. (E121/4/7/50; E121/2/1/18; E121/2/1/49; C54/3919/29; C54/3896/29; E121/3/1/45; E121/5/3/25)

HENCHMAN, Joseph, of London, salter. As an immediate tenant he bought several messuages, lands and tenements in Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire for £176.4.0, 7 June 1652. (E121/4/1/84)

HEWE, Henry, of East Greenwich, Kent, esquire. He bought a parcel of Greenwich House for £224, 15 February 1653. (E121/2/11/61)

HERBERT, John, of Roade, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he and John Thoulinson bought lands and tenements in the parishes of Stoke Bruern, Ashton, etc., Northamptonshire for £743.14.8, 23 June 1652. (E121/4/1/87)

HERBERT, Thomas, of Westminster, Middlesex, esquire. Humphrey Edwards sold him a messuage in Richmond, Surrey for £125, 10 August 1652. (C54/3682/14)

HERRICK, Thomas, of Hartford, esquire. He was one of 10 purchasers of the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Clewer, Berkshire; Corsham, Wiltshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire for £3,771.12.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 23 July 1651. (C54/3855/21; E121/5/7/35)

HEYWOOD, Richard, of Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, gentleman. He, William Dawgs and Thomas Tanner bought the Fussells division in Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £3,800, 19 July 1653. He also acquired part of Theobalds House, Hertfordshire, and parcels of Theobalds manor and park. He appears to have sold all of his holdings in the manor and park to Lyonell Robinson, William Cox, Thomas Stiles, Gabriell Honor, Nathaniel Coles, Thomas Duke, Thomas Shrewsbury, John and George Sedascoe, John Jackson and Edward Horman. (C54/3596/9; Dd13/20/138/565; C54/3696/33)

HIGGINSON, William, of Brownhays, Cheshire, yeoman. He bought parcels in Nantwich, Cheshire for £400, 27 March 1650. As an immediate tenant he bought lands in Davenham and Great Budworth, Cheshire for £218.12.5. 19 November 1650. (E121/1/5/47; E121/1/5/31)

HIGHMORE, Nicholas, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought a messuage and several parcels of land in Spalding and Moulton, Lincolnshire for £571.8.8, 20 September 1653. (E121/3/3/1)

HILL, Philip, of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, gentleman. He and James Halladay bought the herbage and pannage of Radholme Park, Yorkshire for £896.10.0, 20 February 1652. (E121/5/5/24)

HILL, Richard, of Wimbledon, Surrey, yeoman. As immediate tenants he and Thomas Stroud bought the manor of Halliford, Middlesex for £823.18.6, 18 December 1650. (E121/3/4/53)

HILL, Rowland, gentleman. He bought a lodge and vesture of coppices in the Rangers division of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £439.3.7½, 2 June 1652. He also bought the Rangers division in Clarendon Park for £104.6.4½, 23 November 1652. (E121/5/3/30; E121/5/3/31)

HILLYARD, Brandon, of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, gentleman. He and Robert Cooley bought the honor of Clare and Gloucester, Norfolk for £2,181.13.1½, 7 September 1655. (E121/5/7/102)

HIPPISLEY, John, of Westminster, Middlesex, knight. As an original creditor he bought the manor of Farrington Gurney, Somerset for £3,097.11.0, 21 June 1652. (E121/4/5/99)

HOBSON, William, of Stamford, Lincolnshire, esquire. As an immediate tenant he bought parcels of marsh land and pasture ground in the parish of Moulton, Lincolnshire for £781.16.0, 19 September 1650. He also bought Priore Marsh in the parish of Moulton, Lincolnshire for £741.19.8, 27 May 1651. A parcel of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire was bought on behalf of him and 6 other men for £595.0.8, 10 February 1652. (E121/3/3/34, 72, 92)

HODGSON, John, of Southowram, Yorkshire, esquire. A soldier in the northern army. Adam Baynes sold him and Christopher Skepper the yearly rent payable from the copyhold tenants of Pendle Forest, Lancashire, in the honor of Clitheroe for £2,638, 15 May 1652. The rents, which were worth £80.10.0½ per annum, were conveyed to Hodgson and Skepper in satisfaction of their arrears. (C54/3666/22; C54/3839/41)

HOLGATE, John, of Hampstead, Middlesex, esquire. As an immediate tenant he bought three quarters of St John's Wood, Middlesex for £1,791.1.8, 25 June 1650. After the restoration John Collins claimed that he had been compelled to purchase this same property from the crown trustees. (E121/3/4/48; CSPD 1660-1, 290)

**HOLLAND**, Cornelius, of Westminster, esquire. With assigned bills he bought several lands and the manors of Knocklas, Southnethyann, Southvgree, Vehoyd and Riston, Radnorshire for £3,452.10.7½ 29 July 1650. He also bought the manor of Creslow in the parishes of Whitechurch, Cublington, Dunton and Hogston, Buckinghamshire for £4,796.2.4, 22 March 1650. (E121/5/6/19; C54/3595/46)

**HOLLIDAY**, John, of St Giles Cripplegate, Middlesex, esquire. Samuel Chidley sold him and William Travis the manors of Weston, Turville and Saunderton, Buckinghamshire for £240, 19 June 1654. (C54/3773/43)

**HOLLWELL**, John, of Plymouth, gentleman. Captain of foot in the garrison of Plymouth. Previously he had been lieutenant of foot under Lieutenant Colonel Ashford in the regiment of Colonel Crocker; lieutenant of foot under Captain Gay; and then captain of foot under Colonels Crocker and Weldon in Plymouth garrison. He bought Lanteglos and Helbury Park in Helston manor, Cornwall for £1,247.11.2, 20 September 1650. (E121/1/6/26)

**HOLMES**, Abraham, of London, esquire, or haberdasher. Captain of horse under Colonel Robert Lilburne. He was one of 7 purchasers of the manor of Barnsley, Yorkshire and the King's Colliery, Durham for £2,866.1.10½ 5 January 1652. They later sold parcels in Barnsley to Thomas Arundell. Giles Saunders and Wroth Rogers sold him the manor of Knighton, Radnorshire for an undislosed sum, 1 December 1654. (Crest 6/1/183; Reg. Hist. ii, 456; E121/5/7/23; C54/4003/24; C54/3803/13)

**HOLT**, Alexander, of London, esquire. Jeremiah Whitworth sold him the profits of the manor of Burscough, Lancashire for £80, 14 January 1656. (C54/3839/11)

**HOLT**, John, of Lincoln, gentleman. Cornet of horse under Colonel Twisleton. As his share of the regimental purchases of his regiment he acquired several lands in Barton, Lincolnshire for £641.19.7, 1 June 1655. (C54/3875/31; C54/3872/20)

**HONOR**, Gabriell. Richard Heywood sold him, Thomas Stiles and Nathaniel Coles 44 acres in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire for £41, Trinity 1651. (CP25(2)/558)

**HONYWOOD**, Sir Thomas, of Marks Hall, Essex, knight. In February 1650 he was commissioned as colonel of foot in the Essex militia. John Raynor sold him and 5 others the moiety of the manor of Havering atte Bower in Essex for £770, 21 September 1651. The moiety of the manor had originally cost £1,196.11.10. (CSPD 1650, 504; C54/3618/19; E121/2/5/13)

**HOOPER**, Edward, of Plymouth, Devon, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought the manor of Bucklawren Buck, Cornwall for £1,821.12.6, 24 July 1651. (E121/1/6/55)

**HOOPER**, George, of Westminster, Middlesex, gentleman. As original creditors he and Robert Urwin bought a messuage in Bexley, Kent for £190.15.0, 20 March 1657. Mathew Scarborough and John Worsley sold him and Edmund Giles all the lands in Claythorpe, Lincolnshire that had been conveyed to them by the trustees for sale of crown lands for £45, 1 January 1656. William Combey sold him 2 tenements in Evesham, Worcestershire for £32.10.0, 20 March 1657. (E121/2/11/63; C54/3919/40; C54/3964/5)

**HOPE**, Elisabeth, of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire, widow. Samuel Chidley sold her a messuage in the town, manor and parish of Greens-Norton for £40, 15 April 1652, (C54/3669/28)

**HOPE, Robert**, of Little Chester, Derbyshire, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Saunders. Previously he had been captain of horse in Sir John Gell's regiment and brigade. He was one of 7 purchasers of the manor and castle of Tutbury, Staffordshire for £3,245.7.6, 30 June 1652. He and 6 others bought the honor, manor and castle of Kenilworth, the manor of Wootton, Hogg Park, Old Park, Castle Hills Park, the Chase, the royal fishing, and several water grist mills, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire, in two purchases for £7,187.16.4 and £18,775.3.9 on 25 June 1652 and 30 July 1651, respectively. He and many others sold Thomas Fish the manor and park of Kenilworth and the manors of Ruffen and Wootton, Warwickshire. (E121/5/1/2; E121/4/6/101; E121/5/1/18; C54/3875/19)

**HOPKINS, Gabriel**, of Nottingham, esquire. In June 1659 he was listed as a lieutenant in Colonel Rich's horse regiment. Thomas Kidder sold him several parcels in the Maison Dieu Hospital in Dover, Kent for £806.17.4, 27 August 1658. (Reg. Hist. 1, 156; C54/3999/30)

**HORE, John**. As an immediate tenant he bought lands in Bucklawren Buck, Cornwall for £122.5.0, 24 May 1650. (E121/1/6/8)

**HORNE, Ralph**, of Boston, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Probably a soldier under Colonel Syler in the garrison of Boston. Edward Southes sold him and William Cooke tenements and 14 acres in Willoughby parish, Lincolnshire in performance of a trust, 1 September 1653. According to an enrolment in the feet of fines Southes sold him, William Cooke, Richard Rookeby, William Wilson, Thomas Gilbert and Thomas Ward 150 acres and tenements, etc. in Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum. (CP43/283/26; CP25(2)/569, Michaelmas 1653)

**HORSEY, Margaret**, of Battersea, Surrey, widow of Captain John Horsey. Her husband had been captain of foot under Colonel Rainborow. With assigned bills she and Robert Hayborne bought a parcel of the manor of Rosedale, Yorkshire for £570.9.9, 23 February 1652. (E121/5/5/25)

**HORSINGTON, Giles**, gentleman. Christopher Bodley sold him lands in Bexhill and Hove, Sussex, which he later sold to Michael Pendleton. (CP25(2)/604, Easter 1656)

**HORSMAN, Edward**. Robert Thorpe, Richard Heywood and John Jackson sold him 86 acres in Waltham Cross, Hertfordshire and 6 acres in Waltham, Essex for £220, Hilary 1656. (CP25(2)/617)

**HORTON, James**, of Aldrington, Northamptonshire, gentleman. Soldier in Major Knight's troop in Colonel Thomlinson's regiment. He bought lands in Aldrington for £59.5.10½, 11 December 1650. He also bought lands and tenements in Paulerspury for £99.7.8, 11 December 1650. (E121/4/1/42,43)

**HOSKIN, John**, of St Martin parish, Cornwall, gentleman. As an original creditor he bought land in Bucklawren, Cornwall for £679.5.9½, 23 May 1650. (E121/1/6/7)

**HOUGHTON, John** of London, turner (or gentleman). He and John Taylor bought Willington Ferry, Derbyshire with assigned bills for £122.13.4, 17 May 1653. He and John Hemadell bought 2 parcels of meadow ground in the parish of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire for £78, 10 May 1658. He and John Taylor bought several parcels of ground in the parish of Garthorpe, Leicestershire for £272, 11 August 1652. They also bought Welden alias Willington Ferry and a fishing upon Trent in Leicestershire and Derbyshire for £768, 11 August 1652. He, Robert Thorpe, William Sankey and Blount Sadler bought the moiety of the barony of Kendal (Richmond Lands), Westmorland; and the manor of Thornton and the quarter part of the barony of Kendal in Westmorland and Yorkshire for £5,766.4.5, 16 April 1651. He also bought other lands which he sold to John and Thomas Fuller, and John Ellis. (E121/2/1/52; E121/2/9/64; E121/3/2/106; E121/5/7/105; D413/20/88/353; C54/3866/9; C54/3991/12)

**HUGHTON, Samuel**, "erstwhile of Lancashire", gentleman. Lieutenant of foot under Colonels Richard and Ughtred Shuttleworth. He bought Limestones in the Soar and Banks of Burnley and Colne, Lancashire for £33.10.0, 13 December 1655. (E121/4/1/89; E121/3/1/140)

**HOWARD, Lord Edward of Estrick**. As an immediate tenant he bought a parcel of ground in St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex for £40, 29 October 1650. (E121/3/4/60)

**HOWETT, Samuel**, of Hartford, gentleman. John Okey sold him 144 acres of Beggborough Park, Bedfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 31 October 1657. (C54/3933/9)

**HOXTON, John**, of Ratcliffe in the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, esquire. John Clayton, William Barwick and William Taylor sold him the manor of Edmonton, Middlesex for £1,520, 6 June 1654. (C54/3806/9)

**HUBBERT, Thomas**, of London, doctor of physick. John Sparrow and William May sold him land in Theobalds Park which he later sold to John Spencer. He acquired several other parcels in Theobalds which he sold to Edmund Rolfe. (C54/3728/22)

**HUCKLE, John**. As an immediate tenant he bought 2 cottages in Ampthill and 7 cottages in Millbrook, Bedfordshire for £59.12.4, 1 April 1650. (D413/20/18/79)

**HUGHES, Thomas**, of Berwick-on-Tweed, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Robert Overton. Previously he had been captain lieutenant under Colonel Herbert. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manors of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire and Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½ 17 July 1650. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He was one of the purchasers of Holme Cultram which was later conveyed to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Wilkinson and Henry Hedworth. (E121/5/7/18; E121/5/5/5)

**HUMPHREYS, Roger**, of estminster, gentleman. Talley manor, Carmarthenshire was sold to Humphrey Jones on behalf of Humphreys but rated for John Jones for £1,058.9.8½, 24 October 1650. Humphreys and John and Isaac Hunt acquired two manors in Monmouthshire which they sold to Henry Rumsey. John Sparrow and William May sold Humphreys and John Hunt 43 acres in Theobalds Park which Humphrey then sold to William Trigg. (E121/1/5/29; C54/3733/29)



HUNT, George, of London, gentleman. Thomas Richardson sold him the manor of Cowick and Snaith, Yorkshire for £1,317.8.2½, 12 January 1651. (C54/3526/14)

HUNT, James, yeoman. As an original creditor he bought a messuage called the Outlodge in the parish of Pitton, Wiltshire for £165.9.0, 14 February 1652. (E121/5/3/20)

HUNT, John, of Oxford, gentleman. Captain of foot under Colonel Ingoldsby. Previously Hunt had been captain of horse under Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes. He was one of 10 purchasers of the manor of Ingleby, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650. He was one of 11 purchasers of lands in Spalding manor, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of lands in the forest of Braydon, part of the duchy of Lancaster, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. They sold Dorney House to John Dawberne. (E121/3/3/31; E121/5/3/34; E121/3/3/115 E121/5/7/45)

HUNT, John, of Westminster, esquire. He bought manors in Monmouthshire which he sold to Henry Rumsey. He bought manors in Radnorshire from Humphrey Jones and then sold them to John Williams. William Pollicott and Richard Croke sold him and Isaac Hunt part of Theobalds House for £500, 14 June 1652. John Seale sold him and Isaac Hunt part of Theobalds House for £458.13.4, 22 July 1652. John Sparrow and William May sold John Hunt and Roger Humphreys 43 acres in Theobalds Park which they then sold to William Trigg. John Sparrow sold John Hunt part of Theobalds House for an undisclosed sum, 3 May 1653. Hunt died sometime before 12 December 1653 and most of his share in Theobalds seems to have been sold off to John Spencer and William Trigg. (E121/3/5/102; C54/3524/24; C54/3703/21; C54/3703/22; C54/3705/2; C54/3724/34; C54/3733/29)

HUNT, Richard, of London, gentleman. Thomas Richardson sold him Hayes tenement in the parish of Epsom, Surrey for £355.12.8, 12 January 1651. (C54/3553/17)

HUNTINGTON, Robert, of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, esquire. Major of horse in Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment. Previously he had been captain of horse in Colonel Vermuyden's regiment in Manchester's army. William Powell and George Bayly sold him 125 acres in the west end of Windsor Great Park for an undisclosed sum, 24 November 1651. On the same day he and Bayly granted Powell 125 acres in the east end of Windsor Great Park, Berkshire for an undisclosed sum. (E121/1/6/71; C54/3613/18; C54/3613/17)

HUSBANDS, Azariah, of Chawton, Hampshire, esquire. Major of horse under Colonel Rich. Previously he had been cornet in Captain Lionell Copley's troop in Essex's regiment and army; and captain of foot under Colonel Pickering in Manchester's army. As his share of the purchases of Rich's regiment he acquired lands in Eltham, Kent, part of the Maison Dieu at Dover, Kent, a messuage in the manor of Egham, Surrey, Stonegate House in Westminster, Middlesex and the east part of Lee Park in the parish of Eltham, Kent for £3,199.7.3, 16 August 1653. He later sold parts of this purchase to Thomas Kidder, John Caitnes and John Ledbrooke. He also acquired a property in East Greenwich, Kent, which he sold to James Fortrye. (E121/2/11/19; C54/3739/2)

HUSDAY, George. John Farr sold him various messuages, etc., and 177 acres of land and a rent of 78s. 8d. in Ryne Intrinsic, Dorset for an undisclosed sum. (CP25(2)/548, Hilary 1653)

HUSEY, Thomas, of Hungerford Park, Berkshire. Benjamin Burges and John Duneon sold him and Dame Mary Rogers the manor of Bray, Berkshire for £700, 18 June 1651. The manor had originally cost £1,054. (C54/3608/16; D113/20/12/54)

HUTCHINSON, John, of Owthorpe, Nottinghamshire, esquire. Colonel of foot in Nottingham garrison. In the conveyances he seems to be confused with George Hutchinson, his brother, who was lieutenant colonel in the same garrison. Thomas Poulton and others sold him all the bailiwicks and liberties "beyond and on this side Trent and Basset Law", Nottinghamshire for £1,356.8.12, 7 June 1651. He bought other lands which he conveyed to Edmund Richards and Thomas Poulton. (C54/3593/16)

HUTCHINSON, John, of Spalding, Lincolnshire, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and John Rossiter bought several lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding for £1,036.11.8, 10 December 1651. They bought several more parcels in a second purchase for £133.14.0, 12 March 1652. (E121/3/3/88,96)

HUTCHINSON, Thomas. With assigned bills he bought a parcel of meadow ground called Philipson Crooke, Yorkshire for £227.4.0, 24 February 1657. (E121/5/5/43)

INGOLDSBY, Richard, of Martwell, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Colonel of foot under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been major and lieutenant colonel of foot under Colonel Hamden in Essex's army; and colonel of foot in Essex's army. He bought a parcel of the manor of Brampton, Huntingdonshire for £1,406.3.9, 19 October 1650. At some time he also acquired the manor of Ingleby, Lincolnshire from his officers (Thomas Kelsey and others), who had bought it for £6,610.10.9, (E121/2/10/30,49; Crest 6/1/231; E121/3/3/31)

INWOOD, John, of Cobham, Surrey, esquire. He and Shadrach Brisse bought the Hare Warren in Hampton, Middlesex for £1,170, 13 November 1653. The council of state bought it back in 1654. He and Brisse bought houses and lands in Walton-on-Thames, Weybridge and Chertsey, Surrey from Edward Gittings for £200, 20 February 1652. John Raynor and two others sold him Brice messuage in Byfleet and Weybridge, Surrey for an undisclosed sum, 24 March 1652. (E121/3/4/135; CSPD 1653-4, 408-9; C54/3587/26; C54/3688/44)

IRMFON, Thomas, of Landguard Fort, Suffolk, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Rich. He bought a parcel of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £3,435.12.0, 17 March 1652. He bought the manor of Linton, Derbyshire for £278.11.10, 6 July 1650. (Reg. Hist. i. 143; E121/5/3/24; E121/2/1/10)

IZOD, Thomas, of Lincoln, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Captain Haynes in Colonel Twisleton's regiment. Previously he had been cornet to Captain Thomas Rawlins, and then lieutenant to Captain Henry Markham under Colonel Rossiter in Manchester's army. He had begun as a trooper under Captain William Gray in Lord Gray of Wark's regiment. He was an agent in the regimental purchases of Twisleton's regiment. He acquired for himself a messuage in Kirton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, and parcels called Cheyles in the south part of Lincolnshire, in Great Carlton, Spalding, for £563.17.8, 7 June 1655. (E121/5/7/38; E121/4/7/104; C54/3872/19)

JAMES, Thomas. Thomas Malyn sold him 16 acres in Enfield, Middlesex for £60, Hilary 1659. (CP25(2)/575; Hilary 1658-9)

JEFFERSON, John, of Leigh, Yorkshire, gentleman. He was probably a soldier in Colonel Syler's regiment in Boston garrison. In performance of a trust, Edward Southes sold him and Richard Rookeby several messuages and 61 acres in Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire, 20 June 1653. (CP43/282/27)

JELLICE, William, of Spalding, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Thomas Isod and 4 other trustees of Twisleton's regiment sold him messuages in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £102.19.3, 14 April 1656. (C54/3918/24)

JENKINS, John, of Stockton, Durham, esquire. Captain of horse in Oliver Cromwell's regiment; later John Desborow's regiment. e and 5 other trustees of Desborow's regiment bought Windsor Great Park, Berkshire and Surrey for £22,755, 14 October 1650. They sold a small part of the park to Desborow. At the restoration most of the park was in the hands of Edward and John Scotton, Richard Southwood, Robert Aldridge and Robert Huntington. (Joshua Spriggs; Anglia Rediviva; C54/3506/18)

JETNES, Thomas, of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, gentleman. An officer in Hewson's regiment. John Okey and William Crofts sold him and 3 others the manor of idnes in the honor of Halton, Lancashire for an undisclosed sum, 9 July 1656. The manor had originally cost £1,083.19.0. Okey and Crofts granted the same 4 the lordship and liberty of High Peak, Derbyshire to be held for the satisfaction of them and 13 other officers in Hewson's regiment. High Peak had originally cost £800.6.8 + £1,496.5.0. (C54/3896/29; E121/3/1/45; 12 1/ 9, 18; C5 / 1 /29)

JOHNSON, Henry, of Dublin, Ireland, esquire. Lieutenant of horse under Major Gibbon in Henry Ireton's regiment. Christopher Bodley sold him the manor of Chevening, Kent, in return for 4 debentures totalling £361.11.1 $\frac{3}{4}$  15 March 1652. The manor had originally cost £258.1.3. (E121/2/11/5; C54/3619/8)

JOHNSON, Thomas, of London, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Thomlinson. Previously he had been cornet and lieutenant of horse under Captain Knight in Manchester's regiment and army. He was one of the trustees for Thomlinson's regiment. For himself he acquired the manor and park of Liskeard and Lodge Park, Cornwall for £2,756.6.0, 3 January 1653. (E121/1/1/\_; E121/1/6/\_; C54/3685/1)

JONES, Humphrey, of London, citizen and mercer. He may have been a soldier or an officer in Colonel Hewson's regiment. In Peacock's Army Lists there is a captain Humphrey Jones in Sir William Constable's foot regiment. He bought two pieces of land called Swinehills and Gedneyhurns, in the honor of Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire for £5,767.10.0, 21 February 1654. He and 3 others bought the manor of Stradbroke and Stubcroft, Suffolk for £1,929.16.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 28 October 1650. He bought the manor of Penkelly allensis, and Malvern Llanpithett, Brecknockshire for £353.5.4. 4 September 1652. He and 4 others bought several properties in four counties for a total of £9,898.10.9 but conveyed all of them except the manor of Grafton and Hartwell to Colonel John Jones, James Phillips and Thomas Evans. He also participated in other purchases which were later conveyed to John Williams, John Okey and William Crofts. On 16 February 1658 Colonel John Jones sold him the manor of Talley, Carmarthenshire for £500. The manor had originally cost £1,05 .9.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (E121/3/3/130; E121/4/7/50; E121/5/6/42; E121/5/7/31; C54/3975/45; E121/1/5/29)

JONES, John, of Allington, Denbighshire, esquire. Rice Vaughan and Humphrey Jones conveyed to him the Lordship of Bromfield and Yale, Denbighshire, worth £7,672.5.11, 20 September 1656. He also acquired the manor of Greensorton, Northamptonshire, worth £398, 1 July 1659. He conveyed land to Humphrey Jones. (C54/3887/37; C54/4026/45; E320/zx9)

**JONES, Philip**, of Swansea, Glamorganshire, esquire. Colonel of foot in Glamorganshire. He was one of 6 purchasers of the manor of ondy, Monmouthshire for £2,411.5.10½ 26 August 1650. He was one of 6 purchasers of the manors of Oysterlow, Train-a-March and Train-Morgan, Carmarthenshire, the fishing of Kilgarra and lands in the parish of Hodgeston, Pembrokeshire for £2,237.19.8, 30 May 1651. They sold the properties in Pembrokeshire to Griffith Bowen and James Philipps. He, Henry Morgan and John Gauler bought from David Morgan the custom called a comortha of £56.16.0. payable every second year within the manor of Brecon for £482.16.0, 4 February 1652. (E121/5/6/51; E121/3/5/32; C54/3603/10)

**JOSEPH, Robert**, of Dartford, Kent, gentleman, Captain. He bought a messuage and lands in the parish of Higham, Kent for £309.1.4, 8 October 1652. (E121/2/11/63; E121/2/11/54)

**JOYCE, George**, of Westminster, milliner. Captain of foot under Colonel Whetham in Portsmouth garrison. Previously he had been a gentleman in Thomas Fairfax's lifeguard and then a cornet in Fairfax's horse regiment. He and Edward Sexby bought the manor of Portland, Dorset for £479.2.7, 13 May 1651. Sexby later conveyed his share to Joyce in return for 7 debentures worth £113.5.9½. Joyce also bought land which he conveyed to William Siddenham. (C54/3543/20; E121/2/7/83; E121/2/3/32; C54/3595/18)

**JUBBS, John**, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, esquire. Lieutenant Colonel of foot under Colonels Pickering and Hewson. He bought land which he sold to Thomas Springhall and Toby Peddar. (E121/3/3/44)

**JUDD, Daniell**, citizen and barber surgeon of London. As an immediate tenant he bought several messuages in Middlesex for £184.14.0, 14 February 1652. (E121/3/4/95)

**JUICE, Thomas**, gentleman. Richard Creede sold him and James Cooke the manor of Rowington, Warwickshire and other lands for £240, Michaelmas 1652. (CP25(2)/605)

**JUMPER, Mathew**, of London, citizen and leatherseller. He may have been a soldier in Fairfax's horse regiment. He and John Alford bought the Fussells Division of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £3,800, 21 May 1656. He also acquired much of Theobalds Park but sold it all to Jonathan Prickman, Elias Mauroys, Lyonell Robinson and William Coxe. (C54/3889/38)

**KEENE, Clement**, of Rochester, Kent, esquire. Captain of foot in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment. He was one of the trustees in the regimental purchase of Cheshunt Park and the manor of Beamondhall, Hertfordshire. For himself he acquired the Browning Lodge and a total of 251 acres of pasture, meadow and wood ground. He also acquired, from William and John Southworth, lands in the manor of Theobalds, Hertfordshire for £270, 30 October 1655. (E121/2/9/46; C54/3690/10; C54/3983/5; C54/3873/35)

**KEKEWICH, George**. Lieutenant colonel and governor of Mawes Castle, Cornwall. At the restoration it was revealed that he had purchased the manor of Moreske, Cornwall. (CSPD 1651-2, 322; Crest 6/1/40)

**KELKE, Nicholas**, of London, citizen and pewterer. Probably a soldier in Fairfax's foot regiment. Thomas Wright sold him a tenement and several parcels of land in the manor of Beamond Hall, Hertfordshire for £225, 29 September 1653. (C54/3734/7)

**KELSALL**, Humphrey, of Brookehead in the parish of Cheadle, Cheshire, gentleman. He and John Winstanley bought the butlerage of wines in Lancashire for £240, 26 May 1659. Kelsall later conveyed half the butlerage to Ughtred Shuttleworth. He also bought a parcel of the honor of Clitheroe, Lancashire and the rents in the wapentake of West Derbyshire for £449.12.4, 31 October 1654. He bought other lands which he sold to Thomas Brereton, George Parker, Mathew Eaton, John Haughton, Ralph Standing, William Halsall, William Parkinson. (E121/3/1/144; E121/3/1/\_)

**KELSEY**, Thomas, of Oxford, esquire. Lieutenant colonel of foot in Ingoldsby's regiment. Previously he had been a major of foot under Colonel Lambert. He was one of 10 purchasers of Ingleby manor, Lincolnshire, which was later conveyed to Colonel Ingoldsby. He was one of 11 purchasers of lands in Spalding manor, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of lands in the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. They later sold Dorney House to John Dawberne. Kelsey also acquired parts of the manor of Sayes Court, Kent in three transactions for £500, £400 and £1,240. (E121/3/3/31; E121/3/3/115; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45; C54/3776/18; C54/3849/9; C54/3882/39)

**KELTON**, William, of Packington, Leicestershire, gentleman. As an original creditor he bought tenements in Shrewsbury for £109.2.6, 11 June 1657. (E121/4/4/123)

**KEMPSON**, Nicholas, of London, esquire. Colonel of foot in Devon. He bought lands in Cornwall, all of which he sold to Thomas Dryden and Richard Lobb. (E121/2/2/25)

**KENDALL**, Walter, of Lostwithiel, Cornwall, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought a water mill within the borough of Lostwithiel for £126, 12 February 1651. (E121/1/6/42)

**KENT**, Griffith, of St Saviour, Surrey, timber merchant. With assigned bills he bought the king's barge house situated on the bank side in the parish of St Saviour, Surrey for £144, 19 November 1652. (E121/4/8/102)

**KERSLEY**, Henry. As an immediate tenant he bought parcels in East Ham, Essex for £54.12.0, 31 December 1651. (E121/2/5/45)

**KIDDER**, James or Thomas, of Blackfriars, London, gentleman. (The same man is called both James and Thomas in the different documents.) Quartermaster in Nathaniel Rich's horse regiment. He was one of the trustees for the regimental purchases of his regiment. As his share he acquired lands belonging to the Maison Dieu Hospital at Dover, Kent for £4,406.5.9<sup>3</sup>, 16 August 1653. He acquired more of the Maison Dieu from Asariah Husbands for £100, and from Husbands, Thomas Babington and Thomas French for a sum which cannot be ascertained since the Close Roll entry has been partially obliterated. He sold part of this holding to Gabriel Hopkins but kept the bulk of it for himself. He also acquired the slaughter house and other properties near Rochester, Kent for £310, 23 March 1654. He bought the Chantry lands in Sussex for £1,645, 24 March 1652. He bought several parcels of wood ground in the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £672.12.0, 9 November 1654. (Crest 6/1/4; Dd13/20/140/572; CP43/289/6; C54/3855/7; E121/2/11/59; E121/4/9/96; E121/5/5/40)

**KIFFIN**, William, of London, merchant. A captain, perhaps in Fairfax's horse regiment. John Browne and George Gill granted him, as immediate tenant, part of the capital messuage of Theobalds, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 23 June 1652. (CSPD 1651, 311; C54/3689/18)

**KING, John**, of St Albans, Hertfordshire, esquire. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillippe sold him and 5 others part of the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire for £90, 6 May 1651. (C54/3591/26)

**KINGE, John**, gentleman. John Awbrey sold him 87 acres in Mere, Wiltshire for £100, Michaelmas 1651. (CP25(2)/608)

**KING'S LYNN**, Norfolk, the aldermen and burgesses of. As original creditors they bought the toll booths and tolls of King's Lynn for £104, 12 June 1650. (Dd13/20/12/50)

**KINSEY, Alexander**, of London, citizen and ironmonger. As an immediate tenant he bought lands in the manor of Drakelow, Cheshire for £67.17.7, 24 December 1650. (E121/1/5/33)

**KIRKBY, Robert**, of Beeston, Nottinghamshire, gentleman. Captain of horse in Commissary General Ireton's regiment. Previously he had been corporal in Ireton's troop of horse in Nottinghamshire and then quartermaster and cornet to Ireton's troop of horse in the Isle of Ely, in Manchester's army. He and Henry Pretty bought Aggardsley Park, Staffordshire for £3,228.1.3½, 18 July 1650. (E121/5/3/32; E121/4/6/16)

**KIRKE, Thomas**, of Bourne, Lincolnshire, yeoman. James Coales sold him pasture ground in Pinchbeck and Spalding, Lincolnshire for £31.18.2, 24 March 1658. (C54/3975/49)

**KIRKHAM, William**, of Egham, Surrey, yeoman. As an immediate tenant he bought tenements in Egham for £130.7.3, 29 October 1650. (E121/4/8/49)

**KITTLEBUTER, Richard**, of London, citizen and cutler. He and five others bought tenements near the Tower of London for £3,556.6.8, 25 June 1658. They later sold some of them to Nathaniel Mathew for £200. (E121/3/4/151)

**KNIGHT, John**, of Abthorpe, Northamptonshire, yeoman. As immediate tenants he and Edward Bland bought several parcels of the manors of Aldrington and Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire for £979.5.6, 12 March 1651. The parcels were evidently bought for them and 12 others. (E121/4/1/61)

**KNIGHT, Ralph**, of Langdale, Yorkshire, esquire. Major of horse under Colonel Thomlinson. Previously he had been lieutenant in Colonel Okey's troop and Arthur Haslerig's regiment in Sir William Waller's army; and captain of horse in the earl of Manchester's regiment and army. He was the attorney for the regimental purchase of Thomlinson's regiment, but did not acquire any part of it for himself. On his own he bought a court leet belonging to the manor of Normanby, Lincolnshire for £21.6.8, 9 May 1659. He also bought the manor of Tanshelf, Yorkshire for £919.16.4, 12 August 1650. (E121/1/1/\_; E121/5/6/51; E121/3/3/\_; E121/5/5/7)

**KNIGHTLY, Richard**, of Fawsley, Northamptonshire, esquire. Robert Hammond sold him and 4 others Reading Abbey, Berkshire for an undisclosed sum, 17 June 1651. Hammond had originally paid £3,707.6.9 for Reading Abbey and the sites of the manor of Chertsey, Surrey. (C54/3611/43; E121/5/7/44)

**KNOWLES, John**, clerk. William Clarke sold him 44 acres in Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire for £60, Easter 1657. (CP25(2)/570)

KNOWLES, Ralph, of London, clothmaker. He and Thomas Baker bought the royalties, views of frank pledges and turns to be held within the duchy liberty in the county of Warwick for £96 with assigned bills. (E121/5/1/45)

KNUCKLES, Thomas. George Smithson and others conveyed the honor of Pontefract to Mathew Foster and John Pearson, to be held for the profit and advantage of Knuckles and 12 others, 1 December 1656. The property had cost £2,672.0.10. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

LACY, Thomas, of London, gentleman. A member of Colonel Thomlinson's regiment. Previously he had been a trooper in Captain Pyn's troop in Colonel Dalbeire's regiment in the earl of Essex's army. He was one of the trustees for the regimental purchase of Thomlinson's regiment, but did not acquire any of it for himself. (E121/1/1/; E121/1/6/)

LAKE, William, of Bovingdon, Hertfordshire, esquire. He bought the manor house of Barkhamsted, Hertfordshire for £519.18.9, 28 April 1654. (E121/2/9/60)

LAMBERT, John, of Chaulton in Craven, Yorkshire, esquire. Colonel of foot and Major General of the northern army. He also commanded a regiment of horse in the northern army. Adam Baynes sold him the manor of Wimbledon, Surrey for £16,825.17.8, 17 May 1652. George Smithson and 4 others sold him Monsuoh Palace and Little Park, Surrey for £14,800, 31 October 1654. The property had originally cost £14,158.12.0. Lambert acquired another piece of crown land which he sold to Alexander Halsall and Marneduke Heath. Lambert, Baynes and John Blackwell sold 41 acres in Mortlake, Surrey, apparently part of the manor of Wimbledon, to John East. In 1654 the council of state ordered three officials to treat with the purchasers of Monsuoh House and Park, with a view to settling them on the protector, but there is no evidence that this happened. (E121/5/5/18; C54/3677/29; C54/3816/39; E121/4/8/12; CSPD 1654, 180)

LARKE, Sampson, of Exeter, gentleman. Lieutenant of foot to Major Saunders in the garrison of Exeter. Previously he had been a trooper under Major Leighton, and in the colonel's troop in the garrison of Plymouth; and quartermaster in the Plymouth regiment. He bought the manor of Stratton Sanctuary, Cornwall for £536.9.8, 7 February 1651. (E121/2/2/25; E121/1/6/40)

LASINBY, Roger, of London, citizen and haberdasher. As immediate tenants he, Mathias Wilkinson and Richard Price bought the Sedgewick lands in Sussex for £2,573.3.9, 22 July 1650. (E121/4/9/17)

LAUGHTON, Richard, of Leverton in the parts of Holland, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Corporal in Twisleton's regiment. Thomas Deane sold him all his portion of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum, 18 March 1658. Deane and 5 others had shared a part of the manor worth £5,400.2.4. Laughton bought other land in Lincolnshire which he sold to Thomas Mums. (C54/3934/5; C54/3872/5)

LAWRENCE, Thomas, of London, citizen and merchant tailor. As an original creditor he bought East Mead, Reading, Berkshire for £549.17.6, 14 June 1652. (E121/1/2/39)

LEA, Michael, of London, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought Whitehead Park, Gloucestershire for £795.3.7, 20 July 1653. In 1654 Mr Murford and others claimed that they had bought the park from Lea. (E121/2/6/52; CSPD 1653-4, 405)

LEAKE, David. George Smithson and others conveyed the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire to Mathew Foster and John Pearson to be held for themselves and 11 others, including David Leake. Pontefract had originally cost £2,672.0.10. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

LEAKINS, William the elder, of London, innholder. Humphrey Edwards sold him the Armoury House and the Rockhouse belonging to Richmond Court, Surrey for £60, 9 June 1652. (C54/3678/15)

LEDBROOKE, John, of Eltham, Kent, gentleman. Lieutenant, possibly in Nathaniel Rich's regiment. Asariah Husbands sold him 9 acres in Eltham, Kent for £105, 14 March 1656. John Gaitnes sold him 2 acres, 32 perches of wood ground in Eltham for £20, 5 December 1654. Thomas French sold him a parcel of arable pasture in Eltham for £300, 10 October 1653. (C54/3855/11; C54/3778/1; C54/3745/32)

LEE, Samuel, of London, citizen and girdler. John Spencer sold him several buildings belonging to the capital messuage of Theobalds, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 29 February 1653 (Sic) (C54/3705/22)

LEGARD, Robert, of Kingston-upon-Hull, draper. Mathew Scarborough and Roger Daniell sold him 76 acres in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum, 7 June 1654. (C54/3823/21)

LEGARD, Robert, of Scarborough Castle, Yorkshire, gentleman. He sold crown land in Weston, Moulton and Spalding, Lincolnshire to Daniel Smyth in two conveyances. However, there does not appear to be any record of how Legard acquired the land in the first place.

LEGAY, Peter, the younger, of London, merchant. With assigned bills he bought the manor of Penllyn, Merionethshire for £2,048.19.7½, 1 February 1653. (E121/5/6/114)

LE HUNT, William, of Grays Inn, London, esquire. Richard Honnelly and Dalston Shafto sold him and John Goodwin Grafton and Potterspury Park, Northamptonshire for an undisclosed sum, 18 September 1651. He and Goodwin held the property in trust for Viscount William Monson. John Bacon sold Le Hunt and Richard Wallopp Kings Wood in the manor of Woodstock, Oxfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 25 March 1653. The property had originally cost £3,450.15.3. (C54/3635/13; C5/19/88; C54/3720/42; E121/4/3/17)

LEIGH, Nicholas. He and Henry Currier bought Otlands Park, Surrey, according to the certificates of sale, for £8,209.3.6, 28 September 1650. However, the Close Rolls record that the park was conveyed to Richard Watson and William Peverell. (E121/4/8/41)

LEMAN, William, of Northaw, Hertfordshire, esquire. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillipps sold him and 5 others the Great Gate of the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire for £90, 6 May 1651. (C54/3591/26)

LEWIS, Thomas, of Wallingford, Berkshire, esquire. Ensign to Captain Price's company in Hewson's regiment. He and 5 others bought 3 manors in Monmouthshire and the Abbey House in Burnham, Buckinghamshire for £3,334.12.3, 18 July 1650. They sold the manors in Monmouthshire to John Nicholas. Lewis and 6 others bought the manor of Hadnock, Monmouthshire, and later sold it to Lawrence Monney. (E121/5/7/21)

LILBURNE, Anne, widow, of London. Widow of Colonel Henry Lilburne. Adam Baynes sold her 166 acres of Holdenby Park, Northamptonshire for £1,940, 6 May 1651. (C54/3636/39)



**LILBURNE, Thomas**, of Ufferton, Durham, esquire. Colonel of horse in Robert Lilburne's regiment. He was one of 6 purchasers of leaseholds of the manor of Epworth, Lincolnshire for £4,612.13.10, 19 August 1650. He was one of 6 purchasers of the East Park of Buckholt, Hampshire and Wiltshire for £946.10.0, 2 September 1650. He was involved in the purchase of other lands which were later conveyed to William Bradford, James Lotherington, Mathew Foster, John Pearson, Thomas Vause, John Stiles, William Peverell, William Bywater and John Lambert. Lilburne and 5 others also bought the honor of Bolingbroke and the manors of Alkborough and Elington, Lincolnshire for £2,325.7.7, 16 August 1650. They later sold the honor of Bolingbroke and the brovage of the East and West Fens to Richard Skepper. Lilburne was one of 17 purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland for £10,320.18.5½, 7 February 1652. The manor was later conveyed to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Wilkinson and Henry Hodworth, but at the restoration it appears to have been in the sole possession of Lilburne. (E121/3/3/23; E121/5/7/27; E121/3/3/24; E121/1/7/57; C54/3835/29; Crest 6/1/11, 232)

**LIMBROUGH, Edward**, of Dalby, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Marshall in Twisleton's regiment. As his share of his regiment's purchases he received parcels in Weston, Cowbit and Spalding, Lincolnshire for £1,145.19.7, 21 June 1655. (C54/3872/11)

**LISLE, Edmund**, of London, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Rich. Previously he had been ensign and lieutenant to Captain Bournman's company in the Isle of Wight, and then lieutenant of horse to Captain Thomas Ireton in Rich's regiment. As his share of his regiment's purchases he received several parcels of wood ground in Eltham, Kent for £985.1.11, 16 August 1653. (E121/2/11/19; Dd13/20/140/573)

**LISTER, John**, of Stainton, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Corporal in Philip Twisleton's regiment. As his share of his regiment's purchases he received Kings Farm in Yaddlethorpe in the parish of Bottesworth, and meadow ground in the town of Kirton, Lincolnshire for £321.0.4, 4 June 1655. He later sold part of it to Nathaniel Piennes. (C54/3872/17)

**LLOID, Richard**, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, gentleman. With assigned bills he and Benjamin Austine bought the manor of Ashton, Northamptonshire for £869.14.6, 23 January 1651. (E121/4/1/50)

**LLOYD, Griffith**, of St Ives, Huntingdonshire, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Fleetwood. Previously he had been a trooper under Captain Harrison in Essex's army, and then a quartermaster under Captain Harrison in Fleetwood's regiment in the earl of Manchester's army. He was one of the regimental trustees in the purchase that was later conveyed to Fleetwood. Lloyd bought Old Enfield Park, Middlesex for £7,519.19.6, 10 June 1650. He and 3 others later conveyed 44 acres of the park to Peter Steery in satisfaction of his arrears. (E121/5/7/12; E121/3/4/9)

**LLOYD, Robert**, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought tenements in Tadcaster, Yorkshire for £196.16.0, 16 September 1652. (E121/5/5/31)

**LOBB, John**, of Portsmouth, esquire. Major of foot in Portsmouth Garrison. He and Nathaniel Whetham bought 2 manors which they later conveyed to John Menheir. (E121, 1 6 34)

**LOBB, Richard**, of Mylor, Cornwall, esquire. Nicholas Kempeon and Edward Allen sold him about 275 acres in the manor of Rialton and Retrerth, Cornwall for an undisclosed sum, 7 October 1656. (C54/3909/15)

LOCKYER, Nicholas, of London, gentleman. He was an agitator from Rich's horse regiment in 1647. Previously he had been corporal of foot under Captain George Scutt in the garrison of Poole. He was one of the trustees for his regiment's purchases but does not seem to have received any land for himself. (E121/2/11/19)

LODDINGTON, Thomas, of West Ham, Essex, gentleman. Edmund Chillenden, John Addis, and Edmund Page sold him 270 acres of New Marsh and 166 acres of Saltmarsh in Terrington t Clements, Norfolk for £2,000, 8 June 1654. He may be the same man as the Thomas Loddington who was commissioned as a lieutenant in the second horse militia regiment for London and Kent in April 1651. (C54/3781/9; C PD 1651, 514)

LONG, Lislebone, of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. As an immediate tenant he bought the manor of Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Somerset for £1,502.9.9, 18 October 1651. (E121/4/5/84)

LOTHERINGTON, James, of Beverley, Yorkshire, yeoman. Possibly a soldier in the northern army. George Smithson and others sold him and William Bradford Sleyefield Lodge with several parcels called the Chequer lands in the disafforested forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for an undisclosed sum, 1 December 1656. The property had previously cost £3,770.11.8. He was one of the 13 people for whose use and benefit the honor of Pontefract was held by Mathew Foster and John Pearson. Pontefract had cost £2,672.0.10, (C54/3889/9; E121/5/3/19; C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

LOTHERINGTON, William the younger, of Lockton, Yorkshire, yeoman. Adam and Joseph Eyre sold him, John Lyth and John Bayly meadow and pasture ground in the east division of Blandsby Park, Yorkshire for £500, 26 March 1655. (C54/3835/7)

LOVELL, Charles, gentleman. Humphrey Edwards and Gregory Norton sold him and William Bowen 3 acres in St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, 215 acres in Greens-Norton and Whittlebury, Northamptonshire, and gardens and orchards in West Ham, Essex for £500, Trinity 1658. (CP25(2)/617)

LOWDIN, John, of London, citizen and joiner. Nathaniel Rich sold him 25½ acres near Eltham, Kent for £350, 30 August 1655. (C54/3850/29)

LUKYN, Roger, of London, woollen draper. John Umlin sold him quit rents and messuages in the manor of Wingham, Kent for £40, 20 August 1655. (C54/3849/8)

LUSON, Robert, of Rochester, esquire. Captain of foot in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment. Previously he had been quartermaster in Colonel Robert Vivers's and Captain John Vivers's troop in Sir William Brereton's army; reformed in the earl of Manchester's lifeguard; and captain lieutenant in Sir Henry Roswell's troop and regiment in Devon. He was a trustee in his regiment's purchase of Cheshunt Park and the manor of Beamondhall, Hertfordshire for £10,594.18.8, 25 June 1652. He acquired part of it for himself but sold it to Clement Keene. (E121/2/9/46)

LYNDLEY, Thomas, of Ekeghy, Nottinghamshire, esquire. John Gillot and others sold him and manor of Balderton, Nottinghamshire for £430, 7 June 1651. (C54/3593/15)

LYTH, John, of Newton-upon-Rawcliff, Yorkshire, yeoman. Adam and Joseph Eyre sold him, William Lottherington and John Bayly meadow and pasture ground in the east division of Blandsby Park, Yorkshire for £500, 26 March 1655. (C54/3835/7)

**MACKWORTH, Thomas**, of Grays Inn, London, esquire. Colonel of foot in Shropshire. He bought Broken Cross, Chester for £403.9.4, 16 June 1651. He and Richard Smith bought the manors of Drakelow and Rudheath, Cheshire and the manor of Flint, Flintshire for £4,259.13.8½, 27 May 1651. He bought mines and quarries in the commot of Prestatyn, Flintshire for £270, 4 December 1652. (CSPD 1650, 131; E121/1/5/52; E121/1/5/33; E121/5/6/50)

**MAJOR, James**, of Bath, Somerset, esquire. Probably a captain in Colonel Cox's foot regiment. He was one of 10 purchasers of the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Clewer, Berkshire; Corsham, Wiltshire; and Burwell, Cambridgeshire for £3,771.12.4½, 23 July 1651. (C54/3855/21; Reg. Hist. 11, 434; E121/5/7/35)

**MALYN, Thomas**, of Enfield, Middlesex, esquire. Captain of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. As his share of his regiment's purchase of Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire he acquired 105 acres for an undisclosed sum, 7 April 1652. He and three others also acquired another parcel of 40 acres. He later sold 16 acres to Thomas James. (CSPD 1650, 589; C54/3695/42; C54/3693/21)

**MANLEY, Richard**, of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. As an original creditor he bought the Ship Tavern in the New Palace Yard, Westminster for £186, 4 January 1651. (E121/3/4/56)

**MAPLE, George**. As an immediate tenant he bought a cottage in the manor of Ashton, Northamptonshire for £41.3.11, 23 December 1650. (E121/4/1/60)

**MARGERLY, Ralph**, of Walsham-le-Willows, Suffolk, esquire. Captain of horse in Colonel Thomlinson's regiment. Previously he had been captain of horse in Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army. He bought Poynton Cow Pastures, Lincolnshire for £1,148.15.0, 11 July 1650. He was one of the trustees in his regiment's purchase but did not acquire any of it for himself. (E121/3/3/14; E121/1/1/\_)

**MARGETTS, Thomas**, of Bedfordshire, gentleman. Clerk to the judge advocate and then judge advocate to the northern army. Previously he had been a gentleman in Sir Thomas Fairfax's lifeguard. He bought the manor of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire for £427.13.6, 26 August 1650. (E121/1/1/19)

**MARR, William**, of London, gentleman. He and Hugh Webb bought Whitewell and Lower Lodge Divisions of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £1,869.10.0, 20 December 1653. (E121/5/3/38)

**MARRIOTT, John, junior**, of Ashton, Northamptonshire, gentleman. He and John Thomlinson bought lands and tenements in the honor of Grafton, Northamptonshire for £1,181.11.5½, 25 September 1651. As immediate tenants the same two bought several messuages, lands and tenements in Ashton, Northamptonshire for £1,065.16.9½, 1 June 1652. They were bought on behalf of Marriott and 12 others. (E121/4/1/68, 71)

**MARRIS, William**, of Brandon, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Colonel Twisleton. He, James Berry, Owen Cambridge, Thomas Deane, Thomas Munns and Timothy Boole received as their share of their regiment's purchases, part of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £5,400.2.4, 29 June 1655. Munns later conveyed his portion of the property to Marris 13 March 1658. (C54/3872/5; C54/3934/4)

**MARSH, John**, of Shenle, Hertfordshire, esquire. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillipps sold him and 5 others the great gate of the monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire for £90, 6 May 1651. (C54/3591/26)

**MARSH, Thomas, gentleman.** Jonathan Prickman sold him 94 acres in Northaw and Cheshunt, Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for £80, Michaelmas 1656. William Disher sold him 7 acres there for £41, Trinity 1657. (CP25(2)/559)

**MARTIN, Edward, of Westminster, grocer.** With assigned bills he bought the manor of Stapleford Abbots, Essex, 27 September 1651, for £1,601.1.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (E121/2/5/41)

**MARTIN, William, of Durham, gentleman.** As an original creditor he bought tenements in Waltham Cross, Hertfordshire for £272.6.8, 8 March 1651. (E121/2/9/\_)

**MASON, John, of the city of Carlisle, esquire.** Probably a soldier in a northern regiment. (Haslerig's?) He was one of 7 purchasers of the manor of Barnsley, Yorkshire and King's Colliery, Durham for £2,866.1.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 January 1652. They sold part of Barnsley to Thomas Arundell. (E121/5/7/23; Dd8/30/4/2)

**MATHEW, Nathaniel, of London, leatherseller.** John Barkstead and others sold him several tenements at Tower Hill near London for £200, 20 July 1659. (C54/4034/16)

**MAUROYS, Elias, of London, merchant.** John Alford and Mathew Jumper conveyed him and Jonathan Prickman 157 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 8 September 1652. (C54/3696/9)

**MAY, William, of London, gentleman.** John Browne and George Gill conveyed to him and John Sparrow part of the capital messuage of Theobalds, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 3 June 1652. (C54/3696/34)

**MEDLICOTT, Thomas, of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, gentleman.** Richard Merist sold him 72 acres in Theobalds Park for £1,160, 20 January 1655. Medlicott later sold it to John Gladman and George Sedascue. (C54/3816/5)

**MENHEIR, John, of the Inner Temple, London, gentleman. Captain.** He bought rents in the borough of Lostwithiel, Cornwall for £207.3.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 26 October 1653. John Aubrey sold him the manor of Tybesta, Cornwall for an undisclosed sum, 28 February 1651. Aubrey had originally paid £906.16.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Nathaniel Whettham and John Lobb sold him the manors of Tewington and Treverbyn Courtney, Cornwall for an undisclosed sum, 30 January 1651. They had originally paid £2,357.4.0 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Anthony Rowse sold him half the toll of tin in the manors of Tywarnhaile, Tewington, and Helston in Kerriar, Cornwall, 24 June 1654. Rowse had paid £463.6.8 for the whole toll. William Menheir sold him the manor of Tywarnhaile, Cornwall for an undisclosed sum, 24 December 1657. William had paid £732.9.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . John Menheir bought other lands which he sold to John Fathers. (E121/1/6/70; C54/3552/6; E121/1/6/4; C54/3555/34; E121/1/6/34; C54/3809/7; E121/1/6/69; C54/3945/18; E121/1/6/46)

**MENHEIR, Thomas.** He bought the manor of Lidford, Devon for £178.14.0, 9 May 1659. (E121/2/2/\_)

**MENHEIR, William, of London, gentleman.** He bought Phillpotts Division of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £1,329.11.6, 12 November 1656. He bought another property which he sold to John Menheir. (E121/5/3/44)

MERCER, Christopher, of London, esquire. Captain of dragoons under Colonel Okey. Previously he had been captain of dragoons in Manchester's regiment and army. He was one of 7 purchasers of Newmarket House, Cambridgeshire for £1,722, 26 November 1651. He was a trustee in his regiment's purchases in Bedfordshire and received for himself 144 acres in Brogborough Park, 24 February 1652. However, in 1657 he conveyed his share to Colonel Okey. (E121/1/1/29; E121/1/4/56; C54/3693/24)

MERIST, Richard, of Guildford, Surrey, esquire. Captain of horse in Thomas Fairfax's regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain Thomas Hammond's troop in the earl of Manchester's regiment and army, and then lieutenant to Adam Lawrence's troop in Fairfax's regiment. He was a trustee in his regiment's purchase of Theobalds Park. He acquired a share for himself but sold it to Thomas Medlicott. (E121/5/7/14; C54/3691/15)

MESSERVY, Francis. Captain of foot under Colonel Ingoldsbey. Previously he had been captain of foot in the garrison of Barnstable under Major Wroth Rogers. He bought a tenement called the Jackanapes in Middlesex for £272, 17 May 1650. (E121/3/4/61)

MICHELL, William, of Morthen, Yorkshire, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Mauleverer. Adam Baynes sold him and 3 others the honor of Pickering and the manors of Pickering and Sealby, Yorkshire for £3,018.4.1½, 1 March 1653. Adam and Joseph Eyre sold him and 3 others half of Blandsby Park, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum some time before 30 December 1653. The whole park had cost £5,966.7.6. Adam Baynes sold him the soke and manor of Wirksworth, Derbyshire for £851.13.1, 1 April 1655. He bought other land which he sold to William Claxton. (E121/5/7/79; C54/3749/32; C54/3751/8; E121/5/5/30; C54/3879/15)

MICKLETHWAITE, Joseph, of the city of York, esquire. With as signed bills he bought the manor of Leaven, Yorkshire for £3,062.15.4, 5 July 1650. (E121/5/5/4)

MILDMAY, Sir Henry, knight. As an immediate tenant Little St John's Wood and Highbury Wood in the parish of Islington, Middlesex were bought on his behalf and rated for his second son Henry, and Richard Clotterbucke for £327.6.4, 28 August 1651. (E121/3/4/80)

MILLS, John, of Oxford, gentleman. Major of foot under Colonel Ingoldsbey. He was one of 10 purchasers of Ingleby manor, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650. At the restoration the manor was in the possession of Colonel Ingoldsbey. He was one of 11 purchasers of parcels of Spalding manor, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of lands in the forest of Braydon, part of the duchy of Lancaster, iltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. They later sold Dorney House to John Dawberne. (E121/3/3/31; E121/3/3/115; E121/3/3/34; E121/5/7/45)

MILWARD, Thomas, of Covent Garden, Middlesex, esquire. Cornet of horse and then captain of foot. He bought lands and tenements in the parish of Clifford, Herefordshire for £175.5.0, 16 September 1650. He bought the manor of Tring, Hertfordshire for £1,607.16.8, 13 November 1650. He and Godfrey Ellis bought coppices in Chertsey, Surrey for £1,454.15.6, 3 June 1650. They later sold about half of this purchase to Richard Wheatly, John Hall, Thomas Ridge, Edward Rogers, Richard Forbench and Thomas Dison. Milward alone bought apahotts Farm in the parish of Chertsey for £153.8.0 with assigned bill, 24 February 1651. (E121/2/8/18; E121/2/9/33; E121/4/8/15; E121/4/8/61)

**HITTLE, William**, of Leeds, gentleman. He was one of 13 men (probably soldiers) for whose profit the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire was bought by Mathew Foster and John Pearson. The property had originally cost £2,672.0.10, 1 December 1656. With assigned bills he bought tenements in New Malton, Yorkshire for £56.5.0, 11 May 1659. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8; E121/5/5/)

**MONDAY, John**, of Markeaton, Derbyshire, esquire. As an original creditor he bought the royalties of Duffield Frith and two thirds of the mines, Derbyshire for £484, 27 October 1651. (E121/2/1/42)

**MONSON, Viscount William**. Dalston Shafto and Richard Monnelly bought Grafton and Potterspury Park, Northamptonshire on his behalf for £18,228.6.2, 18 June 1650. It was held in trust for Monson by John Goodwin and William LeHunt. (E121/4/1/16; C5/19/88; C54/3635/13) Monson sold 40 acres of the park to John Wickins.

**MOODIE, John**, of Sproughton, Suffolk, esquire. He bought the manor and lordship of Bury, Suffolk for £1,156.16.9, 4 May 1654. (E121/4/7/118)

**MOORE, Edward**, of eatheroak Hill, Worcestershire, esquire. Major of foot in Major General Mitton's regiment. Demeasnes of the manor of Mere, Wiltshire were bought on his, Robert Thorpe's and William Yapp's behalf for £3,513.8.0, 21 February 1651. He and Robert Thorpe bought the manor of Pulletley, Carnarvonshire for £1,622.14.4, 6 May 1651. (E121/5/3/15; E121/5/6/49)

**MOORE, Edward**, of Hartmore, Surrey, esquire. With assigned bills he bought the manors of Redbert and Rosemarket, Pembrokeshire, for £319.13.4, 21 December 1654. (E121/5/6/93)

**MORGAN, David**, of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, esquire. He bought the manors of Carthynooke, Cayo, Mabedred, Mableview and Mallayne, Carmarthenshire for £2,138.15.2, 25 July 1650. He bought mountain lands and other things in Brecknockshire for £917.18.8, 12 May 1651. He bought the manors of Denevour and Newton, Carmarthenshire; Iskod and Guynionith, Cardiganshire; and Seven Mills, Brecknockshire for £1,776.10.8, 8 March 1652. He later sold the custom called a Comortha payable every second year within the manor of Brecon to Philip Jones, Henry Morgan and John Gowler for £482.16.0, 4 February 1652. Morgan made his purchases as an original creditor. (E121/5/6/15; E121/5/6/34; E121/5/6/60)

**MORGAN, Ethelbert**, of London, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Robert Lilburne. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain Franklin's company in Colonel Weldon's and then Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment. He and 6 others bought the manor of Barnsley, Yorkshire and King's Colliery, Durham for £2,866.1.10½, 5 January 1652. They later sold parcels in Barnsley to Thomas Arundell. (E121/5/7/23)

**MORGAN, Henry**, of Cardiff, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Prichards. He and 5 others bought the manor of Wondy, Monmouthshire for £2,411.5.10½, 26 August 1650. He and 5 others bought the manors of Oysterlow, Train-a-March and Trayn-Morgan, Carmarthenshire; the fishing of Gylgaren to Cardigan Bridge, and lands in the parish of Hodgeston, Pembrokeshire for £2,237.19.8, 30 May 1651. He, Philip Jones and John Gowler bought the custom called a Comortha payable every second year within the manor of Brecon from David Morgan for £482.16.0, 4 February 1652. (E121/3/5/32; E121/5/6/51; C54/3603/10)

MORGAN, Thomas, of Breame, Yorkshire, esquire. Colonel of foot and horse in the city of Gloucester. Previously he had been colonel of dragoons under Ferdinando Lord Fairfax. He bought Hanbury Park, Staffordshire for £2,002, 24 June 1650. Godfrey Ellis sold him 90 acres in Tutbury, Staffordshire for £100, Hilary 1650. (E121/4/6/10; CP25(2)/596)

MORTLOCKE, Richard, of Greasley, Nottinghamshire, gentleman. Ensign in Nottingham garrison. He bought tenements in the parishes of orksop and Hadford, Nottinghamshire for £330.17.4, 1 March 1652, with assigned bills. Thomas Poulton and others sold him the hundred of Greisley, Derbyshire for £83, 17 June 1651. (Dd8/30/4/7; E121/4/2/74; C54/3592/2)

MOSSE, Richard, captain of foot under Colonel Pride. Samuel Richardson sold him the manor of Carnanton, Cornwall in two conveyances for £452 and £920, 2 May and 27 September 1654. (C54/3807/55; C54/3810/16)

MOUNTNEY, Richard, of London, merchant. He and 5 others bought, with assigned bills, tenements near the Tower of London for £3,556.6.8, 23 June 1658. They later sold some of them to Nathaniel Mathew. John Greene sold him several messuages in Red Cow Alley near the Tower of London on 6 February 1655. Greene had paid £364 for them. (E121/3/4/151; C54/3813/15)

MOURTON, Henry, of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and Robert Harriett bought the manor of Brigstock, Northamptonshire for £1,499.2.0, 4 February 1651. (E121/4/1/49)

MOYER, Samuel, of London, esquire. Martin Noell, John Battersby, Stephen Kirke and Robert Harbin sold him one tenth of the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for an undisclosed sum, 30 September 1658. These four had previously bought half the manor from John Barkstead and others for £5,940. (C54/3999/41; C54/3643/23)

MOYLE, John, of Bake in the parish of St Germans, Cornwall, esquire. He bought a tenement in the manor of Trelowia, Cornwall with assigned bills for £48.10.0, 12 September 1650. He bought the manor itself for £1,512.9.2, 3 August 1650. (E121/1/6/24, 19)

MUNS, Thomas, of Enfield, Middlesex, gentleman. Cornet of horse under Major Cambridge and Colonel Twisleton. Previously he had been quartermaster under Captain Disney and Colonel Rossiter in Manchester's army, and then cornet under Captain Markham in the same regiment and army. He shared in his regiment's purchases in Lincolnshire, but turned over his portion to William Harris. Later Richard Laughton sold him two parcels of pasture in Weston, Lincolnshire for £240, 18 March 1658. (E121/3/3/113; C54/3935/2)

MURFORD, Peter, of Southampton, esquire. Serjeant major of foot in the garrison of Southampton. He bought the manor of Widoombe, Somerset for £1,274.2.10, 18 June 1651. John Warr sold him half the manor of Englishoombe, Somerset for £800.16.5 in bills and £81.6.0 in money, 11 December 1651. He later conveyed it to Mathew Cadwell in consideration of a marriage between Cadwell and his daughter. (E121/4/5/78; C54/3677/37)

MURFORD, William, of Batheaston, Somerset, gentleman. Captain. He bought a parcel of the manor of Widoombe, Somerset for £252, 18 March 1654. He also bought the manor of Midsomer Norton but sold it to William Bird and Richard Gromwell. He and Daniel Henchman bought a water Grist Mill in Wiltshire for £535.9.4, 21 July 1652. (CSPD 1656-7, 154; E121/4/5/115; E121/5/3/25)

MURRAY, Henry, of Foxley, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, esquire. He bought the park and manor house of Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire for £5,220.11.3, 1651. (Dd13/20/80/322)

NASH, Samuel, of Clement Danes, Middlesex, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and William Bateman bought Idecombe Farm House, Somerset for £497.10.0, 12 December 1651. (E121/4/5/88)

NEALE, William, of Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Captain of dragoons under Colonel Okey. He was a trustee in his regiment's purchases in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire but died some time before 24 February 1652. (E121/1/1/29; E121/1/4/56; C54/3691/30)

NELSON, Samuel, gentleman. Edward Orpin sold him 116 acres in Egham, Surrey for £200, Easter 1658. (CP25(2)/602)

NELTHORP, John, of Utterby Grange, Yorkshire or Willesden, Middlesex, esquire. Captain of horse in Twisleton's regiment. Previously he had been cornet in Major Lowinger's troop in Lord Willoughby of Parham's regiment, and then captain of horse under Colonel Rossiter in Manchester's army. He was a trustee for his regiment's several purchases and for himself acquired the manor of Barrow, Lincolnshire for £2,563.10.10½, 2 March 1658. He also acquired several parcels in Pinchbeck and Spalding, Lincolnshire from James Coales for £800, 9 April 1658. He bought another parcel of Spalding called Halmore Grange for £673.12.0, 11 August 1659. He bought a lodge in Enfield Chase, Middlesex for £1,493.18.4, 29 November 1651. (E121/3/4/87; C54/3977/11; C54/3977/37; E121/3/3/\_; E121/3/4/87)

NEWBERRY, Henry, of Castleton manor, Derbyshire, Captain of foot in the regiments of Colonel John Weare, Colonel Roswell, Colonel Robert Blake and Colonel William Frye. He bought Castleton manor for £727.9.4½, 31 January 1653. (E121/2/1/53)

NEWMAN, Thomas, gentleman. He bought lands and tenements in Grafton and Paulerspury, Northamptonshire for £150.10.8, 1 February 1655. (E121/4/1/100)

NEWMARCH, Timothy, of Welton, Yorkshire, gentleman. A member of Twisleton's regiment. As his share of his regiment's purchases he acquired parcels in Pinchbeck and Spalding, Lincolnshire for £266.6.4, 21 June 1655. (C54/3872/12)

NICHOLAS, John, of Chapstow, Monmouthshire, esquire. Lawrence Monney and others sold him the manors of Gwosemont, White Castle, Skenfrith and Hadnock, Monmouthshire for £1,600, 1 March 1652. (C54/3643/34)

NICHOLLS, Francis, of London, esquire. Lieutenant of foot under Captain Deane and Colonel Lilburne. He was one of 7 purchasers of the manor of Barnsley, Yorkshire and King's Colliery, Durham for £2,866.1.10½, 5 January 1651. They later sold parcels in Barnsley to Thomas Arundell. (E121/5/7/23)

NOELL, James, of Bedford, gentleman. John Crooke and Thomas Noell granted him 407 acres of Beckerings Park, Bedfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 27 April 1653. He sold 160 acres to John Jackson for an agreed sum, Hilary 1654. (C54/3734/19; CP25(2)/532)

NOELL, Thomas, of London, alderman. John Crooke and 5 others conveyed to him for an undisclosed sum Beckerings Park, Bedfordshire, 708½ acres, 26 January 1651. He and James Noell later conveyed 289 acres back to Crooke, 27 April 1653. On the same day Crooke and Thomas Noell conveyed 407 acres to James Noell. The park had originally cost £8,311.1.0. (C54/3727/3; C54/3723/19; C54/3734/19; E121/1/1/26)



**MONNELLY**, Richard, of Westminster, gentleman. An employee of the committee of the army. He and Dalston Shafto bought Grafton and Potterspury Park, Northamptonshire on behalf of Viscount William Monson. (CSPD 1655, 310)

**MONNEY**, Lawrence, of Gloucester, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Lambert. He and 5 others bought 3 manors in Monmouthshire and the Abbey House in Burnham, Buckinghamshire for £3,334.12.3, 18 July 1650. They later conveyed the 3 manors in addition to another which Monney had acquired from Mathew Cadwell and others, to John Nicholas. (E121/5/7/21)

**MOONE**, Samuel, of the parish of Northaw, Hertfordshire, yeoman. John Gladman and William Packer sold him 24 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 23 November 1653. (C54/3731/1)

**MORRINGTON**, William, of Upton in the parish of West Ham, Essex, gentleman. He, Robert Thorpe and Robert Smith bought the manors of Flesby, Essex; Theobalds, Hertfordshire; and Wainfleet, Lincolnshire for £2,852.4.11½, 6 September 1650. They later sold Theobalds to Richard Heywood, and Morrington and Robert Smith turned over their share of Flesby to Thorpe. (E121/5/7/12)

**MORRIS**, Thomas, of Weymouth, Dorset, esquire. A soldier. John Warr sold him several copyholds in his quarter share of the manor of Stoke under Hamdon, Somerset, parcel of the duchy of Cornwall for £567.8.9 in debentures, 12 December 1654. (C54/3857/42)

**NORTHEND**, John, of Kingston upon Hull, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Robert Overton. Previously he had been lieutenant of foot to Major William Goodrick in the regiments of Sir John Hotham and Ferdinando Fairfax, and then captain in the regiments of Ferdinando Fairfax, and Colonel John Mauleverer. He bought Winter House Farm and several lands and tenements in Surrey and Lincolnshire for £557.0.7, 21 March 1654. He, Edward Salmon and Thomas Talbott bought a parcel of the manor of Egham, Surrey and cottages in Holderness, Yorkshire for £223.11.1, 13 February 1655. The same three bought the manors of Cartmell, Lancashire and Epworth, Lincolnshire for £5,910.8.5, 1 September 1652. Samuel Richardson sold him lands in the manor of the late chapter of Beverley, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, 22 November 1656. (E121/5/5/37; E121/5/7/117, E121/5/7/116; E121/5/7/109; C54/3899/3)

**NORTON**, Sir Gregory, knight. With assigned bills he bought the manors of Landulph and Climaland Prior, Cornwall for £3,636.5.6, 22 August 1650. Humphrey Edwards seems to have shared his purchase of the Suffolk Stables, Middlesex and tenements and lands in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £2,246.14.9, 20 May 1651, with Norton. Edwards and Sir Gregory's son Henry conveyed parcels of the Greens-Norton lands to Thomas Elmes, Charles Lovell and William Bowen. (E121/1/6/20; E121/5/7/73)

**OAKESHOTT**, Benjamin, of Chichester, Sussex. As an original creditor he bought lands and tenements in Bexhill and Hailsham, Sussex for £311.16.8, 25 August 1657. (E121/4/9/124)

**OATES**, William, of Pontefract, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought a parcel of Tanshelf, Yorkshire for £515.14.0, 4 September 1650. (E121/5/5/9)

**OFFLY**, Francis, of London, esquire. John Raynor sold him and 5 others the moiety of the manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex for £770, 21 September 1651. Raynor had previously paid £1,196.13.8½. (C54/3618/19; E121/2/5/13)

OGLE, Thomas, of Bardw ll, Suffolk, esquire. Henry Robinson and Robert Cannon bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire on behalf of Thomas Ogle and Edmund Wright for £638.19.3, 3 December 1651. (E121/3/3/75)

OKEY, John, of Hackney, Middlesex, esquire. Colonel of dragoons under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been captain of dragoons under Colonel Richard Browne in the earl of Essex's army; captain of foot in Lord Brooke's regiment and army, and captain and major of horse in Sir Arthur Haselrig's regiment in William Waller's army. He was a trustee in his regiment's purchases in Bedfordshire. He acquired the honor and manor of Ampthill, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire and the manor of Millbrook, Bedfordshire, 24 February 1652. They had originally cost £2,041.5.7½. He also acquired the great lodge and 205 acres in Brogborough Park, Bedfordshire, 24 February 1652. With John Dawberne he also shared 123 acres in the Park. He also received 144 acres from Christopher Mercer in the Park, but later sold it to Sam Howett. Okay was one of 7 purchasers of Newmarket House, Cambridgeshire for £1,722, 26 November 1651. He and William Crafts bought the manor of Widnes, Lancashire from Daniel Henshman, Humphrey Jones and Nathaniel Bonich for £1,083.19.0, 5 July 1656. However, they later conveyed it back to Henshman, Alexander Brayfield, John Silverwood and Thomas Jaynes. The same thing happened with the manor and lordship of the liberty of High Peak, Derbyshire. (E121/1/1/37; C54/3692/31; C54/3692/30; C54/3691/30; C54/3933/9; E121/1/4/56; C54/3897/25; C54/3919/30)

OLIFFE, Thomas, of Burston, Buckinghamshire, gentleman. Adam Baynes sold him a reversion to a messuage and 248 acres in the manor of Holdenby, Northamptonshire for £1,080, 11 March 1653. (C54/3671/1)

ORAM, Samuel, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought Potters Parke and Sayes Messuage, Surrey on behalf of Lady Grissell Manwaring for £376.14.8, 11 July 1650. (E121/4/8/20)

ORPIN, Edward, of Berwick-on-Tweed, esquire. Captain of foot in Overton's regiment. Previously he had been commissary general for provisions in Manchester's army. He and 15 others bought the manor of Holme Cultram and conveyed it to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Ilkinson and Henry Hedworth. At the restoration it was in Thomas Lilburne's possession. He bought several lands and messuages in Egham, Surrey for £784.10.3, 23 December 1650. He later sold some of this property to Susan Estwick and her sons. Orpin was one of 11 purchasers of the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He was also one of 11 purchasers of the manor of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire and the manor of Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½, 17 July 1650. The purchase was made for Colonel Fenwick's (previously Overton's) regiment. (E121/5/7/18; E121/1/7/57; E121/4/8/55; E121/5/5/5)

OTTWAY, Arthur, of Islington, Middlesex, brewer. He and three others, all soldiers, bought the manor of Stoke under Hamdon, Somerset for £5,109.13.4, 20 March 1652. (E121/4/5/94)

OVERTON, Valentine, of London, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought the Dog Tavern in the New Palace Yard, Westminster for £291.11.3, 28 January 1651. He also bought three shops in the New Palace Yard for £196, 26 February 1651. (E121/3/4/58, 59)

OZELL, Thomas, of London, citizen and merchant tailor. He and Thomas Baker bought the bailiwick of Boroughbridge, Yorkshire for £333.14.0, 16 May 1657. (E121/5/5/42)

PACKER, William, of Fulham, Middlesex, esquire. Captain of horse in Thomas Fairfax's horse regiment. Joshua Sprigge lists him as a major in Anglia Rediviva (1647), but his debentures seem to bear out Firth's assertion that he did not become a major until 1652. (Reg. Hist. 1, 70) Previously he had been captain of horse in Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army. He was a trustee for his regiment's purchase of Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for £35,873.11.3, 12 August 1650. He and John Gladman jointly acquired 250 acres in the Park, 7 April 1652. They sold parcels of it to John Strange, John Spencer, Samuel Noone, Jonathan and Joseph Prickman, John Simpson, and William Epsom. Packer and Gladman also acquired 116 acres of the Park. They, William Disher and Thomas Malyn also acquired 40 acres. Packer alone acquired an additional 250 acres. (E121/5/7/14; C54/3690/9; C54/3693/23, 21; C54/3691/20)

PACKINGTON, Richard, of Potterspury, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he and 3 others bought the manor of Moor-end, Northamptonshire for £1,119.9.11, 31 October 1650. (E121/4/1/34)

PALER, George, of Hackney, Middlesex, esquire. Thomas Babington sold him, John Cave and Thomas Stavely several parcels in Eltham, Kent for an undisclosed sum, 13 July 1654. (C54/3776/20)

PALMER, Elish, of Tower Hill, London, esquire. With assigned bills he bought several tenements in an alley on the Tower Hill, Middlesex for £405, 26 September 1653. (E121/3/4/122)

PALMER, George, of Basford, Nottinghamshire, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Thornhaugh. Previously he had been captain lieutenant in Colonel Thornhaugh's troop in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere. He was one of 7 purchasers of several coppices in the manor of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £7,187.16.4, 25 June 1652. They also purchased the honor, manor and castle of Kenilworth, the manor of Wootton, Hogg Park, Old Park, Castle Hills Park, the Chase, the royal fishing and several water grist mills, etc., in the parish of Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £18,775.3.9, 30 July 1651. He and others, as well as several who had not participated in these purchases sold the manor and park of Kenilworth and the manors of Rudfen and Wootton to Thomas Fish. Non-crown land was also included in the conveyance to Fish. Palmer was also one of 7 purchasers of the manor and castle of Tutbury, Staffordshire for £3,245.7.6, 30 June 1652. (E121/5/1/2, 18; E121/4/6/101)

PARKER, George, of Chester, gentleman. Humphrey Kelsall sold him and 3 others the manor and hundred of Macclesfield, Cheshire for £130, 2 July 1651. (C54/3600/45)

PARKER, John, esquire. John and Edward Backwell sold him and John Bancks 207 acres in Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire for £200, Easter 1647. (CP25(2)/582)

PARKER, William, of London, esquire. With assigned bills he and William Underwood bought the manor of Moulton Harrington, Lincolnshire for £3,446.13.10½, 19 March 1651. (E121/3/3/62)

PARKINSON, William, of Bilbrough, Lancashire, gentleman. Jeremiah Whitworth and Humphrey Kelsall sold him, Ralph Standish and William Halsall <sup>w/</sup> Mefscough Park in the forest of Alnchderness, Lancashire for £440, 11 December 1652. (C54/3672/16)

PARNELL, William, servant to Thomas Loddington. Edmund Chillenden and others sold him and Loddington the west end of New Marsh in Terrington St. Clements, Norfolk and two thirds of Salt Marsh for £2,000, 8 June 1654. (C54/3781/9)

PARSONS, Thomas, of London, esquire. Edmund Tapp sold him  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres in Marylebone Park, Middlesex for an undisclosed sum, 24 March 1653. (C54/3688/28)

PAUNSPORT, Robert, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, gentleman. John Hemsdell sold him the manor of Shippon, Berkshire for £200, 31 December 1658. He and Hemsdell later sold the manor of Shippon and other properties to Martin Wright. (C54/4000/26)

PEACOCK, Henry, "late of Colonel Crooke's Regiment under the command of General Monck." He acquired 25 acres of Windsor Great Park, Berkshire, of which he was in possession at the restoration. (Crest 6/2/98)

PEARSON, John, of the city of York, gentleman. George Smithson and others conveyed to him and Mathew Foster the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire, to be held for the profit and advantage of them and 11 others. The property had cost £2,672.0.10. (CSPD 1651, 88; C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

PECK, John. Captain of horse under Colonel Thomas Harrison. A Presbyterian who fled the army in June 1647. He and Samuel Barry bought Bagshot Park, Surrey for £3,911.6.5, 16 January 1651. (E121/4/8/57; CSPD 1660-1, 286)

PEDDAR, Isaac, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, gentleman. He bought several lands within the manor of Moulton Dominorum, Lincolnshire with assigned bills for £1,613.12.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 16 November 1652. (E121/3/3/110)

PEDDAR, Toby, of Hunstanton, Norfolk, gentleman. John Jubbs sold him and Thomas Springhall half the manor of Moulton Dominorum, Lincolnshire for £2,010.3.7, 4 November 1651. (C54/3599/35)

PEELE, Isobel, of the Strand, Middlesex, widow. As an immediate tenant she bought tenements in the Savoy parish, Middlesex for £86.18.4, 19 June 1650. (E121/3/4/7)

PEIRSON, Robert and Thomas. Robert Barwick sold them and William Ward 75 acres in Rosedale, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, Easter 1654. (CP25(2)/614)

PEMBROKE, the right honorable Philip, the earl of. Rowland Hill bought the Rangers division of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £104.6.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 23 November 1652, on behalf of the earl of Pembroke. 121 5 3/31)

PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY, the earl of. He acquired the manor of Ogmores, Glamorganshire which had been bought by William Collins and George Sedgwick for £959.9.9 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (Crest 6/1/166; E121/5/6/8)

PENDLETON, Michael. Giles Horseington and Christopher Bodley sold him lands in Hooe and Bexhill, Sussex for £100, Trinity 1657. (CP25(2)/604)

PENN, Thomas, of Hughenden, Buckinghamshire, gentleman. Samuel Chidley and William idmer sold him and William Penne the manor of Penn, Buckinghamshire, which had been bought in trust for them for £70, 3 January 1653. (C54/3652/21)

PENNE, William, of Penn Place, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Samuel Chidley and William idmer sold him and Thomas Penn the manor of Penn, Buckinghamshire which they had bought in trust for them for £70, 3 January 1653. (C54/3652/21)

PEPPER, Dennis, of Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire, esquire. Adam Baynes sold him and 3 others the honor of Pickering and the manors of Pickering and Scalby, Yorkshire for £3,018.4.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1 March 1653. Joseph and Adam Eyre sold him and 3 others half of Blandsby Park in the parish of Pickering, Yorkshire. The whole park had cost £5,966.7.6. (C54/3749/32; C54/3751/8; E121/5/5/30)

PERKINS, Nathaniel, of Staines, Middlesex, gentleman. He bought Redhill division of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £768.18.0, 14 May 1656. (E121/5/3/40)

PERRIN, Samuel. As an immediate tenant he bought parcels in the parish of Trinity, alias Fordington, Dorset for £197.1.0, 18 November 1650. (E121/2/3/\_)

PERRIER, George, of London, scrivener and citizen. As an immediate tenant he bought the Walnut Tree Houses in the parish of St Olave, Southwark, Surrey for £493.9.4, 17 December 1653. (E121/4/8/111)

PETERS, Hugh, of Westminster, gentleman. Chaplain to Fairfax's train of Artillery. He bought the manor of Newenden, Kent for £108, 16 August 1651. He also bought a tenement over against Sootland Yard, Middlesex for £320, 29 December 1653. (E121/2/11/40; E121/3/4/125)

PETERS, William, of Deptford, Kent, gentleman. John Barkstead and others sold him and Edward Hall part of the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £500, 25 January 1652. (C54/3644/36)

PEVERELL, William, of Oatlands, Surrey, esquire. Captain of horse in Colonel Scroop's regiment. Previously he had been quartermaster of horse under Major Richard Grosse in Sheffield's regiment in Essex's army, and then cornet in Scroope's troop in the same regiment and army. He and 3 others bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £2,411.19.8, 1 April 1652. He and Richard Watson bought Oatlands Park, Surrey for £8,209.3.6, 18 May 1659. Smithson and others sold him and William Bywater New Park, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, Trinity 1654. The park had cost £7,861. (E121/3/3/78; C54/4031/14; CP25(2)/614; E121/5/7/2)

PHELPS, John, of London, gentleman. Cornet under Captain Gardiner in Colonel Harrison's regiment. Previously he had been quartermaster to Captain Samuel Gardiner in Lord Brooke's regiment, and then quartermaster in the same troop in William Waller's army. He bought the honor and manor of Hampton, Middlesex for £558.18.2, 25 July 1651. However, in 1654 the protectorate bought this property back in order to give it to Cromwell. Phelps received £750. (E121/3/4/77; CSPD 1654, 180)

PHILLIPPS, Fabian, esquire. Adam Baynes sold him and 5 others 912 acres in Holdenby, Northamptonshire for an undisclosed sum, Michaelmas 1657. (CP25(2)/617)

PHILLIPPS, Griffantius, of Gloucester, esquire. Captain in Herefordshire. He and Godfrey Ellis bought lands in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire in two purchases, but they seem to have sold all of them to Henry Gladman, Sir John Iltewrong, William Leman, Henry Ewer, John King, Alban Cox, John Marsh, Solomon Smyth, William Theed, Thomas Theed and Thomas Deverell. (CSPD 1648-9, 328)

PHILLIPPS, James, of Terragibby, Cardiganshire, esquire. Rice Vaughan and Humphrey Jones sold him and Thomas Evans the manors of Mabinion, Maventh, Ywchkerdin, Talsarn, Pervith and Koveth, and Anhyynniocke, Cardiganshire for an undisclosed sum, 9 March 1652. The manors had cost £1,567. Philip Jones sold him Kilgarran Wear in Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire for an undisclosed sum, 1 June 1654. (C54/3619/13; E320/sz9; C54/3771/9)

PHILLIPPS, William, of London, citizen and merchant tailor. He bought West Ashford Manor, Devon for £353.16.4½, 4 February 1651. Phillips was the immediate tenant but the land was bought for John Colmore. Philipps, Francis Snawsell and Edward Evans bought the manor of East and at Deeping, Lincolnshire on behalf of the Right Honourable Elizabeth, countess dowager of Exeter, for £2,159.1.0½, 30 April 1650. Philipps also bought a fulling mill in Brecknock for £72, 14 November 1653. (E121/2/2/23; E121/3/3/2; E121/5/6/48)

PICKERING, John, gentleman. John Reynor sold him and Nicholas Saunderson the moiety of the manor of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire for £200, Trinity 1651. Reynor sold the same two men the manor and soke of Kirton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire for £400, Trinity 1651. (CP25(2)/558, 568)

PICKERING, Robert. Thomas White was rated for lands, mills, and tenements in Horsham, Sussex on behalf of Pickering, Richard Cole and John Carryll for £2,064.10.0, 13 September 1650. (E121/4/9/34)

PIDDLE, James, of Wether Compton, Dorset, yeoman. John Warr sold him and George Stroud a messuage in the manor of Ryme Intrinsica, Dorset for £40, 20 February 1657. (C54/3922/36)

PIERS, Hugh, of London, citizen and apothecary. Chirurgeon for the service of North Wales. He and William Sampson bought a parcel of Hucknall Brecks in the parish of Sutton Oldfield, Nottinghamshire for £230, 15 July 1650. They also bought the manor and soke of Grantham, Lincolnshire, for £2,203.11.0½, 12 July 1650. Piers alone bought land at Maydenscote, Berkshire for £267.4.8, 8 April 1653. (E121/4/2/26; E121/3/3/13; E121/1/2/44)

PIERSON, John, of Petersham, Surrey, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he and William Ball bought the manor of Petersham and Ham, Surrey for £1,181.18.0, 20 May 1650. (E121/4/8/4)

PINGARD, Richard, of Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, tailor. With assigned bills he bought a messuage in Paulerspury, Northamptonshire for £34.18.0, 27 May 1651. (E121/4/1/66)

PINCKNEY, Henry, of London, citizen and goldsmith. John Hemadell sold him the manor of Twickenham, Middlesex for £360, 24 April 1654. (C54/3805/4)

PINKARD, John, of Grimscoote, Northamptonshire, yeoman. Samuel Chidley sold him several parcels in the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £61.10.0, 5 December 1656. (C54/3899/12)

PITSON, James, of Stoke near Guildford, Surrey, esquire. Captain of foot in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment. As his share of his regiment's purchase he acquired a third of the Moat House in Cheshunt Park, Hertfordshire and 154 acres for an undisclosed sum, 29 April 1652. He later sold his share of Cheshunt to William Covell. He also acquired crown land which he sold to Richard Forbench. (Reg. Hist. i, 325; C54/3695/25)

PLAMPIN, Thomas, of London, gentleman. He bought the honor of Penrith and the Forest of Inglewood and Baronwood Park in Cumberland as an original creditor for £16,653.9.0½. He later sold a small part of this property to Arthur Seaffie for £1,200, (Dd13/20/88/354)

FLOWMAN, Richard, of Hyde in the parish of Roade, Northamptonshire, gentleman. He and William Flowman bought the manor of Blisworth, Northamptonshire for £359.17.6 with assigned bills, 12 February 1657. (E121/4/1/104)

FLOWMAN, William, of Blisworth, Northamptonshire, gentleman. He and Richard Flowman bought the manor of Blisworth, Northamptonshire for £359.17.6, with assigned bills, 12 February 1657. (E121/4/1/104)

PLYMOUTH, the governors, assistants, wardens and poor people of the hospital of orphans' aid within the borough of. Edmund Fowell bought the water and pool of Sutton in Plymouth on their behalf for £230, 2 December 1650. (E121/2/2/17)

POLLARD, William, of London, citizen and grocer. With assigned bills he and two others bought tenements and lands in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £180.19.4, 26 November 1650. (E121/4/1/41)

POLLICOTT, William, of London, citizen and glazier. John Browne and George Gill sold him and Richard Crooke the capital messuage of Theobalds, with many parcels excepted, in Hertfordshire for £2,670, 17 May 1652. (C54/3692/22)

POOLE, John, of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire, yeoman. Samuel Chidley sold him and Humphrey Greene a messuage in the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £20, 27 December 1651. (C54/3669/27)

POOLEY, Richard, of London, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Parkstead. Previously he had been serjeant of foot in Colonel Cunningham's company in Colonel Bulstrode's regiment in Essex's army; and then lieutenant of foot under Captain Dursfee in Colonel Cunningham's and Colonel Fortescue's regiments in Essex's army. He was one of his regiment's trustees in the purchase of Sayes Court, Kent, but they sold most of it to Francis Stanton, John Batersby, Stephen Kirke, Martin Noell, Robert Harbin, Robert Stanton, William Peters and Edward Hall. (E121/2/11/23)

POPE, William, of London, citizen and carpenter. Edmund Chillenden and others sold him the Byrd in Hand in the parish of Mary le Savoy, the Strand, Middlesex for £141, 27 May 1654. (C54/3807/42)

POTTER, Vincent. Richard Blachford bought the manor of Langton, Lincolnshire on behalf of Vincent Potter for £1,368.12.1, 26 November 1650. (E121/3/3/49)

POTTS, Nicholas. He bought Millbrook Warren, Bedfordshire as an immediate tenant for £266, 1 April 1650. (Dd13/20/5/17)

POULOTT, Francis. Edward Cooke bought the manor of West Harptree, Somerset on behalf of Poulott and John Buckland for £2,077.5.10, 21 July 1651. (E121/4/5/82)

POULTON, Thomas, of Nottingham, gentleman. Captain of foot under Colonel Hutchinson. Previously he had been cornet of dragoons in Captain Charles White's troop, and then captain lieutenant of foot under Colonel Francis Pierpoint. In June 1647 he was appointed governor of Nottingham Castle. He was one of the four trustees for John Hutchinson's regiment's purchases in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. For himself he acquired the manor and park of Eokington, Derbyshire for an undisclosed sum, 27 June 1651. He and the other trustees conveyed the rest of the lands to George Hutchinson, John Hutchinson, John Recklisse, Richard Mortlock, Thomas Lyndley, John Wathey, and Lawrence Collin. (E121/5/7/22; CSPD 1645-7, 563; C54/3593/11)

POWEL, Justinian, of Homslow, Middlesex, esquire. In 1625 he was an auditor of the exchequer. As an immediate tenant he bought demesnes of the manor of Burwell, Cambridgeshire for £650.1.9, 15 May 1650. (VCH Middlesex ii, 107; E121/1/4/6)

POWELL, George, of Taunton, Somerset, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought the borough of Milverton and several tenements in Taunton and Milverton, Somerset for £792.18.4, 7 March 1653. (E121/4/5/103)

POWELL, Vavasour. As an original creditor he bought the castle of New Radnor, Wales for £252.16.0, 3 March 1652. (E121/5/6/76)

POWER, Anthony, of Enfield, Middlesex, gentleman. William Covell sold him and Stephen Power 12 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for £148 and in performance of certain covenants, 1 January 1654. (C54/3731/36)

POWER, Stephen, of Enfield, Middlesex, gentleman. William Covell sold him and Anthony Power 12 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for £148 and in performance of certain covenants, 1 January 1654. (C54/3731/36)

PREIST, James, of Rochester, esquire. Captain of foot in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment. He was one of five trustees for his regiment's purchase of Cheshunt Park and the manor of Beamondhall, Hertfordshire. He and Robert Luson acquired some of the purchase for themselves but later sold it to Clement Keane. (E121/2/9/46; C54/3691/16)

PRESTON, Thomas, of Ilford, Essex, esquire. As immediate tenants he and Abraham Webb bought a messuage and lands in the manor of Ashton, Northamptonshire for £104.4.10, 4 February 1652. (E121/4/1/72)

PRETTY, Henry, of London, esquire. Captain of horse in Henry Ireton's regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain Foley's troop of harquebusiers in Arthur Haslerig's regiment in Waller's army. Oliver Pretty, acting on behalf of his brother Henry, bought, with Robert Kirkby Aggardsley Park, Staffordshire for £3,228.1.3½, 18 July 1650. In 1654 Henry Pretty petitioned for compensation on the grounds that his purchase of Aggardsley Park could not be made good. However, the second moiety was paid in on 24 November 1655, so he must have acquired it after all. Henry Pretty bought Long Hopshill Lodge in the disafforested forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £3,174.8.0, 29 August 1653. (E121/4/6/16; CSPD 1654, 414; E121/5/3/32)

PRETTY, Oliver, of London, esquire. Lieutenant of horse to Major Creede in Colonel Saunders's regiment. He and Robert Kirkby bought Aggardsley Park, Staffordshire for £3,228.1.3½, 18 July 1650. However, he was only acting in trust for his brother Henry. (E121/5/1/22; E121/4/6/16)



PRETTYMAN, William, of Deptford, Kent, esquire. He acquired part of the manor of Sayes Court, Kent. He and five others sold one tenth of the manor to Thomas Goodwin. (C54/3999/43)

PRICE, Richard, of Aberbechan, Montgomeryshire, esquire. Captain of horse and foot for the service of North Wales. He bought the Dutchy House in the Strand, Middlesex for £1,200, 30 April 1652. He bought a parcel of Bolingbroke manor, Lincolnshire for £909.12.1, 24 September 1650. He bought the manor of Chesworth and Sedgewick, Sussex for Walter Sibbet and William Flinton for £117.12.0, 1 June 1650. He bought the manor of Bewdley, Worcestershire for £278.9.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 28 January 1651. He bought Lady Meadow, Worcestershire for £751.2.0, 16 September 1650. (E121/3/4/100; E121/3/3/33; E121/4/9/7; E121/5/4/10; E121/5/4/6)

PRICKMAN, Jonathan, of London, merchant. John Alford and Mathew Jumper sold him and Elias Mauroys 157 acres of pasture and woodground in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 8 September 1652. Edward Dendy sold him and Samuel Gardener the manor house and the manor of Eye Hall, Suffolk for £491.10.0, 6 November 1652. John Gladman and William Packer sold him and Joseph Prickman 46 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for £700, 8 October 1653. (C54/3696/9; C54/3699/6; C54/3734/2)

PRICKMAN, Joseph, of London, merchant. John Gladman and William Packer sold him and John Prickman 46 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for £700, 8 October 1653. (C54/3734/2)

PRIDE, Thomas, of London, esquire. Colonel of foot under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been major in Colonel Berkeley's regiment in Essex's army and Lieutenant colonel in Colonel Harley's regiment. He bought Monsuch Great Park, Surrey for £11,591.8.8, 3 July 1652. (E121/4/8/100)

PRIDEAUX, Edmund, of the Inner Temple, London, esquire. With assigned bills he bought Sidmouth Mills, Devon for £429.6.8, 28 May 1651. (E121/2/2/34)

PUNN, Thomas, of Greens-Worton, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he and George Wilkinson bought lands and tenements in the manor of Greens-Worton, Northamptonshire for £301.4.7, 25 January 1651. (E121/4/1/47)

PYE, Sir Robert, of Faringdon, Berkshire, knight. Colonel of foot under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He fled from the army to parliament in the spring of 1647. Robert Hammond sold him and 5 others the site of the manor of Chertsey Beaumont, Surrey, and Reading Abbey, Berkshire for an undisclosed sum, 17 June 1651. The properties had originally cost £3,707.6.9, 7 October 1650. (Reg. Hist. 1, 129; E121/5/7/44; C54/3611/43)

PYM, John, of Castle Donington, Leicestershire, gentleman. Probably a soldier in Colonel Syler's regiment in Boston garrison. In performance of a trust Edward Southes conveyed to him 70 acres in Hogsthorpe, and Illoughby, Lincolnshire, 29 December 1654. (CP43/288/1)

PYNE, John, of Curry Mallett, Somerset, esquire. Colonel of foot in the Somerset militia. As an immediate tenant he bought the manor of Curry Mallett, Somerset for £2,387.4.0 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 16 August 1651. (CSPT 1649-50, 521; E121/4/5/81)

**RAINBOROW**, William, of Fulham, Middlesex, esquire. Major of horse under Colonel Harrison. Previously he had been captain of foot in Colonel Holbourn's regiment in Essex's army, and then captain of horse in Colonel William Balfour's regiment in the same army. He bought Higham Park, Northamptonshire and then sold it to John Backwell who then conveyed it to Edward Backwell. (E121/4/1/10)

**RANDALL**, Hannibal, of the parish of St Just, Cornwall, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought the manor of Treluggan, Cornwall for £1,401.1.6, 18 September 1650. (E121/1/6/27)

**RAWLINS**, Thomas, of London, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Thomlinson. He was a trustee for his regiment's purchases in Hertfordshire, Cornwall and Northamptonshire, but he died before 1653 and does not seem to have acquired any of the lands for himself. (E121/1/1/\_; C54/3671/14)

**RAWSON**, Francis, of Eatonsoom, Bedfordshire, gentleman. Cornet of horse under Major Alford in Rich's regiment. He bought lands in Eltham and the north west part of the Maison Dieu, Kent from Thomas Babington for an undisclosed sum, 13 September 1653. He later sold land in Eltham to John Forrest. (Rushworth vi, 465; C54/3740/10)

**RAWSON**, Nehemiah, of Birkwood, Lincolnshire, esquire. Richard Skepper sold him and Theophilus Hart the brovage of the East and West Fens, Lincolnshire for £500, 22 July 1656. (C54/3924/23)

**RAYNOR**, John, of Beale, Yorkshire, esquire. He was a trooper under Captain Ryard in Colonel Copley's regiment. Previously he had been a gentleman of the earl of Essex's lifeguard. He bought part of the manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex on behalf of himself and Anthony Stockdale for £134, 21 December 1650. He bought the manor of Kirton, Lincolnshire for £4,711.13.11½, 10 September 1650. He later sold it to Nicholas Saunderson and John Pickering. He, Nicholas Conyers and Robert Barwick bought the manor of Rosedale, Yorkshire for £2,907.19.11, 15 June 1650. In the subsequent partition of the manor Raynor got approximately one seventh as his share. He bought the manor of Hornsey, Yorkshire for £3,012.15.8½, 12 September 1651. He bought the manor of Slaidburn, Yorkshire for £3,291.16.4, 10 September 1650. He also bought several other properties which he resold to Sir Thomas Honeywood, Arthur Barnardiston, Gamaliel Catlyn, Nathan Wright, Francis Offly, Tristram Conyers, Sir John Trevor, John Inwood, William Taylor, John Clayton, William Wood, Thomas Oats, William Soudamore, John Crowthes, James Danby, Nicholas Saunderson and John Pickering. (E121/5/5/1; E121/2/5/37; E121/2/5/19; E121/3/3/28; E121/5/5/1; CP25(2)/614, Yorkshire, Easter 1654 (3 enrolments); E121/5/5/11; E121/5/5/10)

**READE**, Robert, of Berwick-on-Tweed, esquire. Major of foot in Robert Overton's regiment. Previously he had been serjeant and lieutenant in Lieutenant Colonel Acheson's company, and lieutenant in Captain Newcomen and Lieutenant Colonel Floyd's companies in Sir John Meldrum's and Colonel Aldrich's regiments in Essex's army. He had also been captain of foot in Colonel Holbourn's and Colonel Davies's regiments in Essex's army. He was one of 17 purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland, which was later conveyed to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Wilkinson and Henry Hedworth. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manors of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire and Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½, 17 July 1650. (E121/5/7/18; E121/4/5/94; E121/1/7/57; E121/5/5/5)

REASON, Samuel, of Chesterfield, Derbyshire, gentleman. Adam Baynes sold him and Thomas Taylor meadow ground in the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £2,278.5.3, 2 November 1652. (C54/3664/18)

RECKLISS, John, of Nottingham, ironmonger. John Gillott, Thomas Poulton, Thomas Wright and Edmund Richards sold him the manor of Farndon, Nottinghamshire for £430, 17 June 1651. (C54/3592/1)

REVELL, Stephen, of Northill, Cornwall, gentleman. Anthony Rowe sold him the manor of Carnedon Prior, Cornwall for £1,200, 8 March 1659. The manor had originally cost £1,977.11.7½. (C54/3990/4, E121/1/6/71)

RICE, James, of London, tailor. Edward Dendy sold him and Robert Boyse several parcels in Eye, Suffolk for £291.10.0, 7 November 1652. (C54/3699/7)

RICH, Nathaniel, of Stondon, Essex, esquire. Colonel of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He bought the manor of High Easter, Essex for £2,825.8.6½, 21 April 1651. As his share of his regiment's purchases he got the manor of Eltham, Kent for £16,615.13.1½, 16 August 1653. He seems to have taken up residence at Eltham. He later sold a small parcel of the manor to John Lowdin. (C54/3850/29; E121/2/11/19; E121/2/3/29; C54/3745/28)

RICHARDS, Edmund, of Nottingham, gentleman. He appears to have been a soldier in Nottingham garrison where he was an agent for the garrison's purchases. For himself he acquired the manor of Mooreland, Nottinghamshire, 27 June 1651. This property had first been sold to John Hutchinson for £400. He and the three other trustees conveyed crown land to John Hutchinson, George Hutchinson, John Recklisse, Richard Mortlock, Thomas Lyndley, John Wathey, James Rotheram and Lawrence Collin. (C54/3593/10; C54/3593/31)

RICHARDS, Philip, of London, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought the manor house of Aldington, Northamptonshire for £793.18.9, 20 May 1652. As an immediate tenant he bought tenements and lands in Pottersbury, Northamptonshire for £70.6.2½, 3 March 1651. (E121/4/1/82; E121/4/1/\_)

RICHARDSON, Samuel, of Islington, Middlesex, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought the manor of Aston, Surrey for £141.19.4½, 2 April 1658. With assigned bills he bought the manor of the late Chapter of Beverley, Yorkshire for £1,080, 8 September 1653. He later sold lands and rents from the manor to John Northend. Samuel Chidley sold him the manor of Carnanton, Cornwall for £1,000, 23 September, 1651. Chidley had originally paid £945.6.0. (E121/4/8/125; E121/5/5/41; C54/3580/15; E121/1/6/48)

RICHARDSON, Thomas, of London, esquire. Waggonmaster general under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He had previously held the same post in Essex's army. He bought lands in Burnham, Buckinghamshire for £891.12.9, 26 September 1650. He bought the manor of Egham, Surrey and resold it to John Blackwell. He bought Hayes Tenement, Surrey and sold it to Richard Hunt. He bought the manor of Cowick and Snaith, Yorkshire and sold it to George Hunt. (E121/5/5/13; E121/1/3/123)

RIDGE, Thomas, of Chertsey, Surrey, tanner. Thomas Milward and Godfrey Ellis sold him and John Hall a parcel of woodland in Chertsey, Surrey for £150, 20 June 1651. (C54/3581/15)

RIDOUT, John, of London, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought a messuage in the Isle of Sheppey, Kent for £211, 25 September 1650. (E121/2/11/24)

RING, Richard, of Marlborough, Wiltshire, maltster. He bought the Skudeley and Buckhill divisions of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £2,100, 14 May 1656. (E121/5/3/39)

RIPPON, Thomas, of Lancaster, gentleman. Captain of horse under Colonel Ashton in Lancashire. He bought rents in the hundred of Lonsdale in the manor of Slyne, Lancashire for £615, 13 August 1651. (E121/3/1/78)

ROBERTS, Richard, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, clothworker. As an original creditor he bought the manor of Dedham Hall, Essex for £1,804.4.0, 31 March 1651. (E121/2/5/27)

ROBINSON, Henry, esquire. As original creditors he and Robert Cannon bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £638.19.3, 14 June 1651. (E121/3/3/75)

ROBINSON, Lionell, of the Middle Temple, London, gentleman. Mathew Jumper, John Gifford, and Richard Haywood sold him for an undisclosed sum 144 acres of pasture and woodground in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire, 16 June 1652. (C54/3696/29)

ROCKELL, John, of Highgate, gardener. He bought a piece of ground near the Palace Yard, Westminster for £5, 6 November 1658. (E121/3/4/150)

ROGERS, Dame Mary, of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, widow. Benjamin Burges and John Duncon sold her and Thomas Husey the manor of Bray, Berkshire for £700, 18 June 1651. The manor had originally cost £1,054. (C54/3608/16; D13/20/12/34)

ROGERS, Edward, of Chertsey, Surrey, gentleman. Thomas Milward and Godfrey Ellis sold him woodland in Chertsey, Surrey for £105, 23 November 1651. (C54/3587/7)

ROGERS, Thomas, of Chedingstone, Kent, yeoman. As immediate tenants he and Henry Greene bought marsh lands in the parishes of Pevensy and Westham, Sussex for £1,295.13.8, 20 September 1650. (E121/4/9 8)

ROGERS, Wroth, of Hereford, esquire. Major of foot to Colonel Lambert's regiment. Previously he had been captain of foot in Sir William Constable's regiment in Manchester's army. He and Giles Saunders bought the manor of Presteigne and Knighton, Radnorshire, and the manor of Marden, Herefordshire for £6,415.3.3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, 11 September 1650. They later sold the manor of Knighton to Abraham Holmes. (E121/5/7/52)

ROLPH, Edmund, of Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, esquire. Captain of foot in Colonel Hammond's and Colonel Ever's regiments. Previously he had been a trooper in Lieutenant General Cromwell's troop and regiment in Manchester's army, and then cornet and lieutenant under Captain Adam Lawrence in the same regiment and army. He bought Bradford manor, Devon for £893.12.3, 26 October 1650. He bought Field Farm in the parish of Walton-on-Thames, Surrey for £313.11.7, 25 February 1654. William and Edward Coxe sold him 59 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for £895.18.0, 24 June 1659. Thomas Hubbard sold him several parcels in Theobalds Park for £300, 18 September 1656. (E121/2/2/16; E121/4/8/14; C54/4044/9; C54/3922/2)

ROOKBY, Thomas, esquire. Colonel of horse. Previously he had been captain of horse under Colonel Copley and then captain of horse under Colonel Sir Thomas Fairfax. He, William Goodrick and Adam Baynes bought the manor of Richmond, Surrey for £13,562.0.6, 31 August 1650. Rookby appears to have died before 22 December 1651 and did not take part in the subsequent partition of the manor. (E121/4/8/37; C54/3586/13)

ROOKEY, Richard, of Boston, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Captain lieutenant under Colonel Syler in Boston Garrison. Previously he had been lieutenant of horse under Captain Christopher Legard in Lord (Ferdinando?) Fairfax's regiment of horse in Yorkshire. In performance of a trust Edward Southes sold him and John Jefferson tenements and 61 acres in Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire, 20 June 1653. Southes also sold Rookey and 5 others 150 acres in Hogthorpe for an undisclosed sum, Michaelmas 1653. (E121/5/1/45; CP43/282/27; CP25(2)/569)

ROSEWELL, Joseph, of Englishcombe, Somerset, gentleman. John Warr sold him, Francis Fisher and Thomas Clement half the manor of Englishcombe for £484, 11 December 1651. Warr had previously paid £1,601.12.10 for the whole manor. (C54/3586/38; E121/4/5/73)

ROSSE, Samuel, of Gloucester, esquire. Lieutenant of foot in Colonel Lambert's regiment. He was one of 6 purchasers of the Abbey House in Burnham, Buckinghamshire, and the manors of Grosmont, White Castle and Skenfrith, Monmouthshire for £3,334.12.3, 18 July 1650. He and 6 others also bought the manor of Hadnook, Monmouthshire, which they sold, along with the other three manors, to John Nicholas. (E121/5/7/21)

ROSSITER, John, of Spalding, Lincolnshire, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and John Hutchinson bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding for £1,036.11.8½, 10 December 1651. They bought more parcels in the same manor for £133.14.0, 12 March 1652. (E121/3/3/88; E121/3/3/96)

ROTHERAM, James, of Nottingham. He was "one of the soldiers whose arrears are to be satisfied", presumably in Nottingham garrison. Thomas Poulton and three others sold him the bailiwick of Oxlerton in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire for £596.5.6, 7 June 1651. (C54/3595/29)

ROW, Samuel, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex. He bought lands in Macclesfield, Cheshire for £46.16.0, 15 February, 1652. Macclesfield Manor was bought on behalf of him and Anthony Boothe by Edward Southes for £634.17.4, 18 March 1653. (E121/1/5/58, 67)

ROWE, William, esquire. With assigned bills he bought a water grist mill in Carmarthenshire for £136.13.0, 28 April 1654. (E121/5/6/72)

ROWSE, Anthony, of Wootton, Cornwall, esquire. Colonel of foot in Plymouth and Dartmouth garrisons, Devon. He bought the manor of Helston in Kerrier, Cornwall for £1,085.7.0, 8 January 1651. He appears to have sold the manor and other lands in Cornwall to Francis Rowse, John Harrison and others, but the enrolment is torn and much of the information has been lost. Rowse bought other properties which he sold to Stephen Revell and John Menheir. Rowse also bought the honor of Okehampton in Devon and Cornwall, the honor of Plympton, Devon, and a tenement in the borough of Week St Mary, Cornwall for £346.1.8, 11 July 1655. (E121/1/6/35; C54/3866/29)

ROWSE, Francis, esquire. Anthony Rowse sold him, John Harrison and others the manor of Helston and half the toll of tin in Helston in Kirriar, Tywarnhaile and Tewinton, Cornwall for over £300, Trinity 1657. The fine is torn and much of the information on it has been lost. (CP25(2)/541)

ROY, John, of Dorchester, Dorset, gentleman. William Harding sold him messuages in Hermitage, Dorset and in the manor of Fordington, Dorset for £650, 24 April 1656. (C54/3922/31)

**RUDD, Thomas**, of Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, esquire. As an immediate tenant he bought lands and tenements in Higham Ferrers for £876.5.4½, 10 May 1650. Walter Erling sold him and others land in Higham Ferrers, Michaelmas 1654. The fine for this transaction has been lost, and only the index reference remains. Walter Erling and Paul Fetch sold him and 3 others land in Higham Ferrers (56 acres), for an undisclosed sum, Easter 1656. (E121/4/1/\_; PRO Index 17,239; GP25(2)/582)

**RUMSEY, Henry**, of Ludbrooke, Monmouthshire, esquire. Roger Humphrey and Isaac and John Hunt sold him the manors of Lesweary and Leboneth, Monmouthshire for £505.6.0, 8 December 1652. (C54/3651/32)

**RUSDEN, John**, of allingford, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought lands in allingford and Newnham, Berkshire for £202.10.0, 22 June 1652. (E121/1/2/38)

**RUSHWORTH, Francis**, of Northampton, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought Morend Farm, Northamptonshire for £829.15.3, 20 August 1650. (E121/4/1/24)

**RUSHWORTH, John**, of London, or Battersea, Surrey, esquire. He and Edward Greene bought several tenements near Charing Cross, Middlesex, and a parcel of the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £1,043, 29 April 1656. They also bought several rents payable out of the Forest of Bowland, in the honor of Clitheroe, Lancashire, and the manor of Newnham, Bedfordshire for £3,570.17.11, 11 February 1657. They sold Newnham to Arthur Young. (E121/3/4/142; E121/5/7/146)

**RUTTON, Mathias**. As an immediate tenant he bought a parcel of Camelton and Shefford, Bedfordshire for £336.11.6, 18 March 1650. (Dd13/20/3/11)

**RYSELL, William**, of Gloucester, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Thomas Morgan in the garrison of Gloucester. He bought Ledbury Chase, Herefordshire for £574.11.6, 4 November 1650. (E121/4/6/11; E121/2/8/27)

**SABBERTON, Joseph**, of London, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Captain Swallow in Whalley's regiment. Previously he had been a cornet under Captain Swallow in Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army. He participated in his regiment's purchases in Essex, Norfolk, Middlesex and Nottinghamshire. For himself he acquired part of the manor of Terrington, Norfolk, 15 March 1654. At the restoration, however, Terrington was in the possession of Edward Whalley. (E121/3/6/\_; C54/3781/35)

**BABY, John**, of Higham Ferrers, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he and Paul Fetch bought lands and tenements in Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire for £543.17.8, 6 May 1650. (E121/4/1/6)

**SADLER, Blount**, of London, merchant. He bought the liberty of the bailiwick of the duchy of Lancaster in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire for £779, 8 February 1655. He and Richard Benning bought lands in the chase of Bewland, Yorkshire and Lancashire for £2,429.4.2, 24 February 1653. In pursuance of a Chancery decree they sold most of this property to Clement Toulson. Sadler and 3 others bought the moiety of the barony of Kendal, Westmorland and the manor of Thornton and a quarter of the barony of Kendal in Westmorland and Yorkshire for £5,766.4.5, 16 April 1651. He and Houghton also bought some land which they sold to John Ellis. (E121/5/7/101; E121/5/5/34; Dd13/20/88/353; Dd8/30/4/29)

SALMON, Edward, of Kingston-on-Hull, esquire. Lieutenant Colonel of foot under Sir Hardress Waller. Previously he had been captain of horse under Colonel Ireton. Before that he was captain of foot under Lord (Ferdinando?) Fairfax, and major of horse under Colonel John Lambert in the northern army. He, Thomas Talbot and John Northend bought part of the manor of Egham, Surrey and lands in Holderness, Yorkshire for £223.11.1, 15 February 1655. The same 3 bought the manors of Cartmell, Lancashire and Epworth, Lincolnshire for £5,910.8.5, 1 September 1652. Adam and Joseph Eyre sold Salmon and 3 others half of Blandsby Park, Yorkshire 4 March 1653. The whole park had cost £5,966.7.6. (E121/5/7/26; E121/5/5/37; E121/5/7/116; E121/5/7/109; C54/3751/8; E121/5/5/30)

SALTER, Richard, of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, yeoman. As immediate tenants he and 3 others bought the Shambles in the market place of Hempstead, Hertfordshire for £95.10.0, 20 November 1650. (E121/2/9/31)

SAMPSON, William, of St Andrews, Holborn, Middlesex, esquire. Captain of foot in the service of north Wales. He and Hugh Piers bought the manor and soke of Grantham, Lincolnshire for £2,203.11.0½, 12 July 1650. They also bought a parcel of Hucknall, Brecks in the parish of Sutton Oldfield, Nottinghamshire for £230, 15 July 1650. (E121/3/3/13; E121/4/2/26)

SANDERSON, John of Hedley Hope, Durham, esquire. He appears to have been a major in Robert Lilburne's regiment and was a trustee for many of the regiment's purchases. Previously he had been a serjeant major and captain of horse under Colonel Wrenn and a captain of horse in Durham. He bought Someborne Park, Hampshire for £3,878, 3 September 1650. He also bought the honor of Leicester and other lands in Leicestershire for £720.18.10½, 15 June 1650. He bought the manor of Thwing, Yorkshire for £1,235.1.4, 5 July 1650. After Sanderson's death, some time before 15 June 1651, his executors sold Thwing to Robert Stafford and George Grey. Sanderson also bought land which he and others sold to Richard Skepper. Sanderson was involved in several other purchases which were partitioned by the other trustees after his death. (E121/2/7/28; E121/3/2/11; E121/5/5/3)

SANDES, Thomas, of Kirby Kendal, Westmorland, gentleman. Thomas Plampin sold him three quarters of the toll of the town of Kirby Kendal for £150, 22 December 1654. (C54/3827/27)

SANKEY, Hierome, esquire. Major of the county troop of Cheshire. Richard Sankey sold him 540 acres in Castlehay Park, Staffordshire for £400, Trinity 155. This was over half the park, which had originally cost £7,697.13.0. (E121/4/6/8; CP25(2)/597)

SANKEY, Richard, of London, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Fleetwood. Previously he had been cornet and lieutenant to Captain Kirlie's and Captain Fleming's troops in Essex's army, and then lieutenant to Captain LeHunt in Colonel Fleetwood's regiment in Manchester's army. He bought Castlehay Park, Staffordshire for £7,697.13.0. He sold more than half of it to Hierome Sankey. He and Thomas agstaffe bought the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire for £9,159.15.6, 23 March 1652. They later sold most of it to Richard Creede and William Combey. (E121/4/6/8; E121/5/1/14)

SANKEY, William. He and 3 others bought the moiety of the barony of Kendal, Westmorland and the manor of Thornton and a quarter of the barony of Kendal, Westmorland and Yorkshire for £5,766.4.5, 16 April 1651. (Dd13/20/88/353)

SAUNDERS, Giles, of Hereford, gentleman. Captain of foot under Colonel Lambert. Previously he had been captain of foot under Colonel Mountague in the earl of Manchester's army. He and Wroth Rogers bought the manor of Presteigne and Knighton, Radnorshire and the manor of Marden, Herefordshire for £6,415.3.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 11 September 1650. They later sold the manor of Knighton to Abraham Holmes. (E121/5/7/52)

SAUNDERS, Lawrence, of London, merchant. Thomas Saunders and John Gorges sold him part of the manor of Bradninch, Devon, "in part performance of the trust reposed in them by severall officers and soldiers..." and for £3,000, 4 January 1658. (C54/3945/12)

SAUNDERS, Richard, of Reading, Berkshire, draper. As an immediate tenant he and George Thorne bought Calcott Place, Berkshire for £242.6.8, 12 February 1651. (E121/1/2/25)

SAUNDERS, Thomas, of Pyembro, Devon, esquire. Captain of foot in the garrisons of Exeter and Lyme Regis. Previously he had been lieutenant of dragoons and lieutenant of horse under Captain Pisney and Colonel Ceeley, and then captain of horse under Colonel Vere. He and John Gorges bought the manors of Poolmayne and Eastway, Cornwall for £1,277.8.8, 9 December 1650. They also bought the honor, manor and borough of Bradninch, Devon for £19,517.11.10 $\frac{1}{4}$ , 22 March 1651. They sold at least half of it to Richard Clapp, Gabriel Barnes, Lawrence Saunders and Thomas Westlake, (E121/1/6/41; E121/2/2/25)

SAUNDERSON, Nicholas, of Hickleton, Yorkshire, gentleman. John Reynor sold him and John Pickering the moiety of the manor of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire for £200. Saunderson and others later sold the property to Richard Combe. John Raynor also sold him and Pickering the manor and soke of Kirton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire for £400, Trinity 1651. The property had originally cost £4,711.13.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (C54/3872/6; CP25(2)/558, Trinity 1651; CP25(2)/568; E121/3/3/28)

SAUNDERSON, Samuel, of York, gentleman. Cornet to Major John Saunderson in Robert Lilburne's regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain Turner's and Captain Claxton's troops. He was involved in his regiment's purchases and conveyed them to Richard Burdus, John Harrison, Philip Wilkinson, Henry Hedworth, William Bradford and James Lotherington. Samuel and his brother Charles were the executors of John Sanderson, their brother, and were responsible for conveying part of the manor of Thwing, Yorkshire to Robert Stafford. (E121/1/7/57)

SAVAGE, John, of Lockens, Berkshire, esquire. Captain of horse in Whalley's regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant to Captain Pitchford's troop in the same regiment. He participated in his regiment's purchases as a trustee, but does not seem to have taken part in the subsequent partition of these lands, nor to have acquired any of them for himself. (E121/2/9/35)

SCAIFE, Arthur, of Hartley Castle, or Inton, Westmorland, esquire. Lieutenant of horse to Captain William Farrer in Colonel Copley's regiment. Previously he had been corporal to Sir Thomas Fairfax's own troop, then lieutenant to Major Rookeby's troop in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment, and then captain of horse in the same regiment. He bought Ellerton Grange, Cumberland for £504, 11 March 1652. Thomas Plampin sold him a messuage and 487 acres of pasture in the parish of Hesketh, Cumberland for £1,200, 7 July 1653. (E121/1/7/59; C54/3763/1)



SCARBOROUGH, Mathew, of London, citizen and haberdasher. He bought cottages and the royalty of coal mines in Newbold Moor, Leicestershire for £144.8.0, 21 January 1653. He and William Currer bought a parcel of the honor of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £368, 20 May 1653. He and Roger Daniell bought rents and perquisites in Yorkshire for £136.8.0, 4 January 1654. He bought lands in Kellington, Yorkshire for £90.3.4, 19 April 1653. He and John Orsley bought several parcels of land in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Derbyshire for £245.19.9, 28 February 1654. He and Roger Daniell also bought lands in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £3,038.9.0, 8 December 1652. They seem to have sold most of this property to Henry Hall, John Hale, John Glover, Robert Legard, Edmund Giles and George Hooper. (E121/3/2/112, E121/5/5/38, E121/5/5/39, 35; E121/5/7/96; E121/3/3/111)

SCOTT, Benedict, of London, merchant. John Singleton sold him the manor of Shoreham, Kent for £297, 24 March 1652. Singleton had paid £445.11.6 for the manor. (CP43/278/21; E121/2/11/44)

SCOTT, John, esquire. James Priest and Robert Luson sold him and Clement and John Keene 180 acres in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire for £120, Trinity 1658. (CP25(2)/559)

SCOTT, Richard, of Westminster, gentleman. He bought houses and lands in Surrey and Essex with assigned bills, for £1,352.15.4, 20 February 1651. He bought parcels of land in Walton, Surrey and a parcel of the bailiwick of St James, Middlesex for £193.7.6, 26 February 1652. He and Robert Toms bought messuages and lands in Potterspury, Northamptonshire for £69.19.4, 7 May 1651. (E121/5/7/62; E121/5/7/92; E121/4/1/80)

SCOTT, William, of Lambeth, Surrey, esquire. He bought the manor of Kennington, Surrey with assigned bills, for £3,339.6.3½, 30 July 1650. (E121/4/8/22)

SCOTTON, Edward, of Wisbech in the Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire, esquire. Lieutenant of horse in Oliver Cromwell's (later Desborow's) regiment. Previously he had been a cornet in John Fiennes's troop in Nathaniel Fiennes's regiment, and then captain lieutenant of horse in Colonel John Fiennes's own troop and regiment. Scotton bought Prince Wood, Lincolnshire on behalf of Nathaniel Fiennes for £62.8.4, 10 July 1650. He was one of the 6 officers of Desborow's regiment who bought Windsor Great Park, Berkshire and Surrey for £22,755, 14 October 1650. They sold a small part of the park to Desborow. Scotton was still in possession of his share at the restoration. (E121/4/1/16; E121/3/3/17; C54/3506/18; SP29/22/263)

SCOTTON, John. He acquired part of Windsor Great Park, Berkshire and Surrey, of which he was in possession at the restoration. (SP29/22/263)

SCRIVENER, Richard, of Potterspury, yeoman. As an immediate tenant he bought lands and tenements in Potterspury and Cosgrove, Northamptonshire for £809.6.0, 8 March 1652. (E121/4/1/75)

SCRIVENOR, Thomas, of Yardley Gobion, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he and 3 others bought the manor of Moor-end, Northamptonshire for £1,119.9.11, 31 October 1650. (E121/4/1/34)

SCROOP, Adrian, of Cokington, Lincolnshire, esquire. Colonel of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been captain of a troop of harquebusiers in the earl of Essex's regiment and army. He and 3 others bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £2,411.19.8, 1 April 1652. He later sold part of his share to Robert and William Hardwicke and Stephen Garrett. (C54/3919/32; E121/3/5/47; E121/3/3/78)

SEALE, John, of London, citizen and skinner. John Browne and George Gill sold him part of the capital messuage of Theobalds, Hertfordshire, and 16 acres for £1,100, 24 June 1652. (C54/3689/19)

SEARLE, John, of Hornchurch, Essex, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought tenements called "Woules", Essex for £519.2.0, 24 June 1650. (E121/2/5/6)

SEDASCUE, George, of Westminster, esquire. Major of horse in Henry Ireton's regiment. Previously he had been major of horse in Sir Michael Livesey's regiment in Kent. Joseph Hawksworth sold him parcels in Kenilworth, Warwickshire for £560, 15 June 1657. John Gladman, Richard Heywood and Thomas Medlicott sold him 16 acres in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire for £100. (E121/5/1/18; C54/3930/35; CP25(2)/559, Michaelmas 1659)

SEDGWICK, George, gentleman. He and William Collins bought the manor of Ogmores, Glamorganshire as immediate tenants for £959.9.9½, 25 July 1650. It was later acquired by the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. (E121/5/6/8)

SEDGWICK, Tobias, of St Mary-le-Savoy, the Strand, Middlesex, barber. Edmund Chillenden, Edmund Page and John Adis sold him the Sugar Loaf in the Strand for £120, 16 August 1654. (C54/3814/8)

SELLERS, William, of Chelsea, Middlesex, yeoman. He bought the Abbots west division in Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £230.19.0, 12 November 1656. (E121/5/3/42)

SEXBY, Edward, of Portland, esquire. ("a Suffolk man by birth"). A soldier in Sir Thomas Fairfax's troop and horse regiment. In 1649 he was appointed governor of Portland with the rank of captain. He bought demeanes of the manor of Portland, Dorset, but later sold it to John Warr. He bought other lands which he sold to George Joyce and John Warr. (Reg. Hist., 61, 66; E121/2/3/31)

SHAFTO, Dalston, of Bonnington, Northumberland, esquire. Captain and serjeant major of horse in Colonel Ponsonby's regiment. Previously he had been captain of horse in Colonel Selby's regiment. He and Richard Monnelly bought land which they conveyed to John Goodwin and William LeHunt. (E121/4/1/16)

SHERWIN, Richard, of Westminster, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought lands in the parish of Midsomer Norton, Somerset for £644.18.0½, 8 March 1652. (E121/4/5/90)

SHIPPARDSON, Adam, of Morton, Durham, esquire. Captain, probably in a northern regiment. He bought the manor of Muchland, Lancashire and the honor of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £4669.15.10, 6 June 1650. He later sold Muchland to Christopher Copperthwaite, and Knaresborough to Thomas Sutton. Shippardson also bought Ightenhill manor in the honor of Clitheroe, Lancashire for £2,937.16.8, 5 December 1650. (E121/5/7/10; E121/3/1/52)

**SHREWSBRIDGE, Thomas.** Richard Heywood sold him and Thomas Duke 21 acres in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire for £60, Trinity 1652. (CP25(2)/558)

**SHUTTLEWORTH, Ughtred,** of Preston, Lancashire, gentleman. Colonel in Lancashire. Humphrey Kelsall conveyed to him half the butlerage of wines in Lancashire, 10 December 1659. The whole butlerage had cost £240, of which half had been Shuttleworth's money. (C54/4028/18)

**SIDDALL, William,** of York, esquire. He and William Michell bought lands which were later conveyed to William Claxton.

**SIDDENHAM, William,** esquire. Colonel of foot and governor of Melcum Regis and Cymouth. Previously he had been captain of horse in Dorset under the earl of Essex, and then colonel of horse in Dorset under both Sir William Waller and the earl of Essex. George Joyce conveyed him Corisbrooke Park, Hampshire for £320, Hilary 1652. The park had originally cost £3,200. (E121/2/10/49; CP25(2)/594; E121/2/7/83)

**SIKES, Gobert,** of London, citizen and salter. Jeremy Baynes sold him the Rangers division of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £840, 4 July 1657. Baynes had paid £860.2.6. (C54/3953/7; E121/5/3/36)

**SIKES, Grace,** of Knottingley, Yorkshire, widow. Richard Sykes sold her the manors of Colne, Worston and Chatburn, and the manor or forest of Trawden, Lancashire, and half the fee farm rent from the manor of Cottingham, Yorkshire, for £2,000, 24 November 1659. Only the first three manors appear to have been crown land. (C54/4029/16)

**SILVERWOOD, John,** of London, gentleman. An officer in Hewson's foot regiment. In consideration of certain covenants John Okey and William Croftes granted him and 3 others the manor of Widnes, Lancashire, in the honor of Halton. Okey and Croftes also granted them the manor and lordship or liberty of High Peak, Derbyshire, for the satisfaction of them and 13 other officers of Hewson's regiment. Widnes had originally cost £1,083.19.0, and High Peak had cost a total of £2,296.11.8. (C54/3896/29; C54/3919/29; E121/3/1/45; E121/2/1/18, 49)

**SIMPSON, John,** of London, gentleman. John Gladman and William Packer sold him a total of 93 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire in two conveyances for a total of £854.10.0, 29 September 1657 and 14 January 1658. (C54/3931/7; C54/3976/47)

**SINGLETON, John,** of London, gentleman. Cornet of horse in Major Spencer's troop in Colonel Hugh Bethell's regiment. Previously he had been corporal of horse under Sir Edward Rhodes and Major Spencer in Lord (Ferdinando?) Fairfax's regiment. He bought lands which he later sold to John and Thomas Fuller, Nathaniel Mathew and Benedict Scott. (E121/5/5/19)

**SINNOCK, James,** of London, esquire. Captain of foot in Major General Skippon's and Colonel Cox's regiments. He bought land with 9 other officers but sold his share to Maurice Bowen. (Reg. Hist. ii, 435)

**SKELTON, Samuel,** of Egham, Surrey, gentleman. As original creditors he, Ralph Harrison and William Foster bought the manor of King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire for £1,376, 24 February 1651. (E121/4/1/53)

**SKEPPER**, Christopher, of Lussy, Lincolnshire, esquire. A soldier, probably in a northern regiment. Adam Baynes sold him and John Hodgson the yearly rent payable from the copyhold tenants of Pendle Forest, Lancashire, in the honor of Clitheroe for £2,638, 15 May 1652. The rents were conveyed to him and Hodgson in satisfaction of their arrears. Skepper conveyed some of his share to William Coshe. (C54/3666/22; C54/3839/41)

**SKEPPER**, Richard, of Halton Holegate, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Cornet of horse to Major Smithson's troop in Colonel Robert Lilburne's regiment. He bought a messuage in the castle of Lincoln for £240, 14 May 1656. He bought the office of the liberty of Sutton, Lincolnshire for £104.6.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 24 February 1657. William Bradford and others sold him the honor of Bolingbroke and the brovage of the West Fens, and other things in Lincolnshire for £2,200, 18 August 1657. He sold part of this property to Nehemiah Rawson, Theophilus Hart and Morton Bryan. (E121/3/3/145; E121/3/3/148; C54/3932/32)

**SKIPPOW**, Philip, of London, esquire. Major general of foot under Sir Thomas Fairfax and governor of Bristol. Previously he had been major general of foot and president of the council of war in Essex's army. He and John Moyle bought the manor of Bonyalva, Cornwall for £719.8.9, 18 May 1650. The purchase price was paid with Skippon's debenture for exactly the same amount. (E121/1/6/9)

**SKYNNER**, Nicholas, of London, Merchant. He and John Dove bought the Chislehill division in Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £2,957.11.5, 21 February 1654. (E121/5/3/37)

**SLATER**, William, of Spalding, gentleman. John Hutchinson and John Rossiter bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire on behalf of Slater for £1,036.11.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 10 December 1651. (E121/3/3/88)

**SMITH**, Daniel, of Enfield, Middlesex, gentleman. Robert Legard sold him land in Moulton, Lincolnshire for £525, 10 December 1655. It is not clear where Legard got the land from in the first place. (C54/3877/26)

**SMITH**, Edward, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire. George Smithson and others sold him, Abraham Haines and John Webb lands mainly in Epworth, Lincolnshire for £1,000, 19 November 1653. (C54/3733/16)

**SMITH**, Henry, of London, gentleman. He bought Hayes tenement and the manor of Egham, Surrey, but these were later sold by Thomas Richardson, who had been the agent for the initial purchase.

**SMITH**, Henry, of Saxtead, Suffolk, yeoman. Godfrey Ellis and Andrew Yarranton sold him, Robert Drane and John Hamling the manor of St Edmunds in Brundish with Roadstrete and Ilby, Suffolk, and the manor of Horham Countis, Suffolk for £1,111.8.11, 25 September 1650. Ellis had originally paid £2,322.17.10. (C54/3564/31; E121/4/7/36)

**SMITH**, Jeremiah. Major. He bought the manor or bailiwick of Hawkshead Upp Furness in the county palatine of Lancaster, worth £54 per annum. (Crest 6/1/11)

**SMITH**, John, of London, esquire. With assigned bills he bought the manor of Walton Leigh, Surrey for £1,521.0.4, 26 December 1650. (E121/4/8/54)

**SMITH**, John, of London, citizen and haberdasher. As an original creditor he bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £937.7.0, 10 March 1652. (E121/3/3/99)

SMITH, Richard, of Shrewsbury, gentleman. Captain of foot in Colonel Mackworth's company in Colonel Duckenfield's regiment. Previously he had been captain of foot under Colonel Chadwick in Staffordshire and Colonels Hunt, Clive, Mackworth and Lloyd in Shropshire. He and Thomas Mackworth bought the manor of Flint, Flintshire and the manors of Drakelow and Rudheath, Cheshire for £4,259.13.8½, 27 May 1651. (E121/4/6/91; E121/1/5/33)

SMITH, Richard, of Westminster, brewer. He bought lands and coppices in Egham, Surrey for £239.8.8, 21 February 1651. (E121/4/8/59)

SMITH, Robert, of Upton in the parish of West Ham, Essex, esquire. He, Robert Thorpe and William Norrington bought the manors of Pleshey, Essex; Theobalds, Hertfordshire, and Wainfleet, Lincolnshire for £2,852.4.11½, 6 September 1650. They sold Theobalds to Richard Heywood. Smith and Norrington turned over the manor of Pleshey to Robert Thorpe. Smith bought a tenement in West Ham, Essex for £352.15.6, 4 May 1650. He bought the manor of West Ham from Syllas Taylor for £3,147.11.0, 18 September 1650. This was the price that Taylor had paid for it. He sold a small parcel of West Ham to Sir Jacob Garrard. (E121/5/7/12; E121/2/5/2; C54/3508/18; E121/2/5/8)

SMITH, Samuel, of Covent Garden, Middlesex. As original creditors he and Thomas Constable bought marsh lands called the Warths, Gloucestershire for £311.6.6, 29 April 1654. (E121/2/6/55)

SMITHSON, George, of Kiplin, Yorkshire, esquire. Major of foot in Robert Lilburne's regiment. He and 5 others bought the east park of Buckholt in Hampshire and Wiltshire for £946.10.0, 2 September 1650. The same group also bought several other crown estates which they sold to Edward Smith, Abraham Haines, John Ebb, John Lambert, Henry Hedworth, Richard Burdus, John Harrison, Philip Wilkinson, Thomas Strangeways, William Bradford, Thomas Vause, John Stiles, James Lotherington, Mathew Foster, John Pearson, Richard Skepper, William Peverell and William Rywater. (E121/5/7/2; E121/5/7/27)

SMYTH, Daniell, of Enfield, Middlesex, gentleman. Robert Legard sold him land in Moulton, Lincolnshire for £525, 10 December 1655. (C54/3877/26)

SMYTH, Solomon, of St Albans, Hertfordshire, dyer. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillips sold him parcels in the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire for £120, 6 May 1651. (C54/3591/27)

SNAWSELL, Francis, of London, gentleman. With assigned bills he, William Phillippe and Edward Evans bought the manor of East and West Deeping, Lincolnshire for £2,159.1.0½, 30 April 1650. (E121/3/3/2)

SOME, Samuel, of the parish of Giles-without-Cripplegate, London, gentleman. Thomas French sold him lands in Eltham, Kent for £444.13.7½, 19 August 1657. (C54/3960/26)

SOMERFIELD, William, of London, citizen and clothworker. As the immediate tenant he bought Sayes Court manor house in Deptford, Kent for £96, 2 May 1650. (E121/2/11/1)

SOMERSCALES, Thomas, of Kingston-on-Hull, gentleman. Richard Sykes sold him the manor of Penhulton, Lancashire for an undisclosed sum, 30 April, 1651. (C54/3631/5)

SOUTH, Charles. As an immediate tenant he bought a moiety of the manor of Lound, Nottinghamshire for £260.6.0, 11 September 1650. (Dd13/20/24/100)

SOUTHERN, Samuel, of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, yeoman. As immediate tenants he and 3 others bought the Shambles in the market place of Hempstead, Hertfordshire for £95.10.0, 20 November 1650. (E121/2/9/31)

SOUTHERS, Edward, of London, gentleman. He was an agent for many purchases of crown land, but was only rated for two of them. He and George Bachiler bought Eaton manor, Berkshire for £1,290.9.16, 24 September 1651. They sold most of it to Ruth Bell. He also bought land in Lincolnshire, evidently for Bostin garrison. He sold it to Richard Rookeby, John Jefferson, Thomas Gilbert, Thomas Ward, William Willson, Ralph Horne, William Cooke, William Throckmorton, Michael Hale, Edmund Syler and John Pym. (E121/1/2/36)

SOUTHWELL, Robert, of Enfield, Middlesex, esquire. Lieutenant of horse under William Packer in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment. Previously he had been quartermaster to Valentine Walton's troop in Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment in Manchester's army. He and William Covell got 416 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 7 April 1652. Southwell alone got another 42 acres. At the restoration he and William Willoughby were allowed to receive the rents from Bestwood Park, Nottinghamshire for the year 1660. (E121/5/7/14; C54/3695/43, 46; Crest 6/1/5)

SOUTHWOOD, Benjamin. He acquired part of Windsor Great Park, Berkshire and Surrey, of which he was in possession at the restoration. (SP29/22/263)

SOUTHWORTH, William. He bought land which he sold to Clement Keene.

SPARROW, John (junior and senior), of London, or of Gestingthorpe, Essex, gentleman. The father and son bought half the manor of Havering, Essex with Richard Deane for £1,196.13.8, 25 September 1650. They also bought a third part of Havering Park with the manor house for £4,733.16.8, 11 June 1651. Sparrow senior was also involved in transactions to do with Theobalds park and house but he sold out to John Spencer, William Trigg, Thomas Hubbert, Edward Brooke, William Cox and Roger Humphries. (E121/2/5/14, 35)

SPENCER, Daniel. Walter Erling and Paul Fetch sold him and 3 others 56 acres in Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire for an undisclosed sum, Easter 1656. (CP25(2)/582)

SPENCER, John, of London, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse in Thomas Harrison's regiment. Previously he had been a chaplain in another regiment. He, Edmund Tapp and William Cough bought Marylebone Park, Middlesex on behalf of Harrison's regiment for £13,215.6.8, 7 September 1650. Spencer acquired the old lodge on the east side of the park and 251 acres, 14 August 1651. He sold parcels of the property to Thomas Symonds, Joseph Strange, Thomas Hubbert, Thomas Harrison, John Frye and Nathaniel Sutton. At the restoration Spencer was not in possession of any of the park. William Packer and John Gladman sold him 24 acres in Theobalds Park, 15 April 1652. John Sparrow and William May sold him 7 acres in the Park for £135, 1 November 1652. The same two also sold him 4 acres in the Park for £93, 15 April 1653, and another 7 acres for £132, 29 June 1653. Thomas Hubbert sold him another 9 acres for £160, 9 August 1656. John Browne and George Gill sold him parcels of the capital messuage of Theobalds for an undisclosed sum, 26 May 1652.

John Hunt sold him another part of the same messuage for an undisclosed sum, 5 May 1653. He sold part of his holding to Samuel Lee. (E121/3/4/27; C54/3579/5; Crest 6/2/224-6; C54/3690/8; C54/3703/26; C54/3720/32; C54/3734/29; C54/3695/33; C54/3732/3; C54/3925/25)

SPENCER, William, of London, citizen and leatherseller. Robert Thorpe sold him the manor of Pleshey, Essex for £60.11.6, 9 October 1657. (C54/3961/18)

PENCER, William, of the Tower of London, gentleman. He and 5 others bought tenements near the Tower of London for £3,556.6.8, 25 June 1658. They sold a few tenements to Nathaniel Mathew. (E121/3/4/151)

SPERING, Henry, of the city of Poole, esquire. Lieutenant of foot in Lieutenant Colonel Read's company in Poole Garrison. Previously he had been a foot soldier in Major George Skutt's company, and then serjeant and lieutenant in the same company in Colonel Bingham's regiment in Poole Garrison. He later seems to have moved to Weymouth Garrison. He was one of 9 purchasers of land in Wiltshire which was later sold to William Bradford and James Lotharington. Sperring however was not one of the grantors. (E121/5/3/19)

SPIGURNELL, Thomas, of Clement's Inn, Middlesex, gentleman. He bought a parcel of the manor of Porthea Prior, Cornwall for £45, 30 May 1657. (E121/1/6/73)

SPILMAN, Erasmus. As the immediate tenant he bought arable land in East Dereham, Norfolk for £143.4.0, 24 May 1650. (E121/3/6/9)

SPINAGE, Anthony, of London, esquire. In 1658 he was a captain in Cromwell's (formerly Fairfax's) horse regiment. As his share of Fairfax's regimental purchase he acquired 104 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 7 April 1652. He shared the property with Charles Kiftell. (Reg. Hist. 1, 73; C54/3690/11)

SPOONER, Abraham, of Berwick-on-Tweed, gentleman. He was an ensign under Captain John Spooner in Colonel Overton's foot regiment. He and 10 others bought the manors of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire, and the manor of Gillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½, 17 July 1650. He and 10 others purchased the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He was also one of the purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland which was conveyed to John Harrison, Richard Burdus, Philip Ilkinson and Henry Hedworth. (E121/5/7/18; E121/5/5/5)

SPRINGHALL, Thomas, late of Ignalls & Mary, and now of King's Lynn, Norfolk, esquire. In 1650 he was commissioned as captain of foot in the Norfolk militia. Isaac and Toby Peddar sold him a quarter of the manor of Moulton Dominorum for £806.16.1, 28 May 1657. (CSPD 1650, 504; CP43/299/52)

STABLE, John, gentleman. Adam Baynes conveyed to him and 5 others 912 acres in the manor of Holdenby and a rent in the manor of Leeds for an undisclosed sum, Michaelmas 1657. These men were probably only trustees for Baynes since he was still in possession of Holdenby at the restoration. (CP25(2)/617)

STACKHOUSE, William, of London, gentleman. Captain. He bought meadows near Clitheroe, Lancashire for £270.9.9, 24 April 1651. (D48/30/4/13; E121/3/1/67)

STAFFORD, Robert, of Thwing, Yorkshire, esquire. Charles and Samuel Sanderson, executors of the late John Sanderson sold him the manor house of Thwing, Yorkshire for £480, 15 June 1651. (C54/3622/6)

STANDISH, Ralph, of Standish, Lancashire, Jeremiah Whitworth and Humphrey Kelsall sold him, William Halsall and William Parkinson <sup>Myrscough</sup> Park in the forest of Aln<sup>der</sup>ness, Lancashire for £440, 11 December 1652. Whitworth and Kelsall had originally paid £1,297.9.6 for the park. (C54/3672/16; E121/3/1/104)

STANE, William, of Westminster, physician. Commissary general of musters in the northern army. He bought the manor of St Florence, Pembrokeshire for £689.5.0, 16 June 1652. Hamonds Tenement, Essex was bought on his behalf by William Turpin and William Glascooke, and later sold to John and James Clarke. (E121/5/6/88)

STAPLES, Thomas, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire. With assigned bills he bought rents, issues and profits in the liberties of the duchy of Lancaster in several counties for £614.6.8, 26 July 1655. (E121/5/7/56)

STAVELY, Thomas, of the Inner Temple, esquire. Thomas Babington sold him, George Paler and John Cave several parcels of land in Eltham, Kent for an undisclosed sum, 13 July 1654. (C54/3776/20)

STEBBING, William, of London, gentleman. He, John Raynor and Thomas Brough bought Arps tenement and other lands in Surrey for £319.16.0, 11 March 1651. They sold some of the lands to Sir John Trevor and John Inwood. (E121/4/8/74)

STEERY, Peter, clerk. Griffith Lloyd, Francis White and Thomas Else conveyed part of Old Enfield Park, Middlesex to Steery in satisfaction of his arrears, but four years later he conveyed it back to Thomas Else. (C54/3687/17)

STELVENS, Samuel, of Bray, Berkshire, gentleman. He bought several tenements in the bailiwick of St James-in-the-Fields, Middlesex for £3,758.17.2½, 4 October 1650. (E121/3/4/41)

STEPHENS, Francis, of Hurley, Berkshire, gentleman. As the immediate tenant he bought land in the manor of Thorpe, Surrey for £56.5.0, 28 October 1650. (E121/4/8/47)

STEPHENS, Richard. As an original creditor he bought lands in Cherhill in the parish of Calne, Wiltshire for £57.12.8, 22 September 1652. (Dd13/20/126/507)

STEVENS, Edward, of Spalding, Lincolnshire, gentleman. As an immediate tenant he bought lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire on behalf of 36 people for £7,505.15.0, 6 September 1650. He also bought another parcel of the manor of Spalding for £595.0.8, 10 February 1652. (E121/3/3/81, 92)

STILE, William, of Gloucester, esquire. Captain of foot in Colonel Lambert's regiment. He and 5 others bought three manors in Wiltshire and the abbey house in Burnham, Buckinghamshire for £3,334.12.3, 18 July 1650. They later sold the manors to John Nicholas. The sale included the manor of Hadnock, which Style and the others had bought separately. Style and 3 others bought the manor of Stoke-under-Hamdon, Somerset, for £5,109.13.4 20 March 1652. Styles bought the manor of Carwidros, Cardiganshire for £630.6.3, 6 February 1651. He also bought the manor of Llangangell, Cardiganshire for £514.1.3, 6 February 1651. Godfrey Ellis sold him and



Mathew Cadwell, Bowdley Park and Ticknell House, Worcestershire for £1,250, 7 July 1652. Ellis had originally paid £5,915.14.0 for the properties. (E121/5/7/21; E121/4/5/94; E121/5/6/38, 39; C54/3760/12; E121/5/4/4)

STILES, John. As the immediate tenant he bought a coppice wood in Steppingley, Bedfordshire for £11.12.6, 1 April 1650. (D48/30/5/3; D413/30/16/69)

STILES, Thomas, of Steppingley, Bedfordshire, gentleman. George Smithson, Thomas Lilburne, William Bradford, George Watkinson and Francis Wilkinson sold him and Thomas Vause the manor of Steppingley, Bedfordshire for £38, 6 April 1655. (C54/3871/38)

STIRRUP, Nathaniel, gentleman. Charles Fleetwood sold him and Peter Ball the manor and park of Woodstock, Oxfordshire, the manor of Methwold and the manor of Stookton Socon, Norfolk and various delinquent lands in Suffolk for £960, Trinity 1652. This was probably a trust since Fleetwood went to Ireland at about the time the conveyance was made. (CP25(2)/616)

STOCKDALE, Anthony. Captain of foot in Colonel Thornton's regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant of foot in Captain Farwick's company in Colonel Legard's regiment. John Raynor bought part of the manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex on behalf of himself and Stockdale for £134, 21 December 1650. (E121/2/5/19)

STOCKDALE, Thomas, of Bilton Park, Yorkshire, esquire. With assigned bills he and 3 others bought the manor of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £2,680.12.0, 22 November 1651. He and 3 others also bought royalties in the forest of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for £240, 24 April 1652. (E121/5/5/19, 27)

STODERT, Aitor, of St Leonard Shoreditch, Middlesex, esquire. He appears to have been a captain in Lambert's horse regiment. Adam Baynes sold him the copyhold rents of Rossendale, Lancashire in the honor of Clitheroe for £2,907.10.10, 6 April 1655. (C54/3758/31)

STOKES, Richard, of Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he and 3 others bought the manor of Moore-end, Northamptonshire for £1,119.9.11, 31 October 1650. (E121/4/1/34)

STONE, Francis, of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, salter. Anthony Deane sold him and William Hamond 23 acres in Hyde Park, Middlesex for £403.13.0, 19 February 1657. (C54/3936/37)

STOREY, William, of Shuttington, Warwickshire, gentleman. William Combey sold him and Gilbert Dukeson the manor of Shuttington, Warwickshire for £400, 8 April 1651. Combey had originally paid £390.15.0. (C54/3590/29; E121/5/1/13)

STORY, William, of the parish of Alleston, Yorkshire, husbandman. With assigned bills he bought part of the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £124, 31 July 1651. (E121/5/5/17)

STRANGE, John, of Cheston, Hertfordshire, gentleman. William Packer and John Gladman sold him 18 acres in Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 22 April 1652. (C54/3676/5)

o/ STRANGE, Joseph, of Sutton Courtney, Berkshire, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Thomas Harrison. He bought Emorys Chase and conveyed it to James Boeve. John Spencer sold him 72 acres in Marylebone Park, Middlesex for an undisclosed sum, 14 April 1652. Spencer conveyed him another 10½ acres in the park on 29 December 1656, for £235. (Reg. Hist. 1, 190; C54/3677/40; C54/3938/41)

STRANGE, Nathaniel, of Berwick-on-Tweed, gentleman. As original creditors he and 6 others bought the manor of Barnsley, Yorkshire and King's Colliery, Durham for £2,866.1. 10½, 5 January 1652. They later sold parcels of Barnsley to Thomas Arundell. (E121/5/7/23)

STRANGEWAYS, Thomas, of South House, Yorkshire, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Robert Lilburne. George Smithson, William Bradford, Thomas Lilburne, George Watkinson and Philip Wilkinson sold him the manor house of Epworth, with Westwood and Haxey, Lincolnshire for £2,331.9.8, 10 October 1654. (Reg. Hist. 1, 271; C54/3829/14)

STROUD, Thomas, of Westminster, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and Richard Hill bought the manor of Halliford, Middlesex for £823.18.6, 18 December 1650. (E121/3/4/53)

STROWD, George, of Limington, Somerset, yeoman. John Warr sold him and James Piddle parcels in the manor of Ryme Intrinsic, Dorset for £40, 20 February 1657. (C54/3922/36)

SUMPTER, Giles, of London, merchant. With assigned bills he bought lands and tenements in Greens-Morton, Northamptonshire for £8,310.9.8, 21 March 1651. He bought the coney warren of Layston, Suffolk, possibly on behalf of Lieutenant Colonel Jackson, for £779.10.0, 18 May 1653. (E121/4/1/59; E121/4/7/80)

SUTTON, Thomas, of Brignall, Yorkshire, gentleman. Adam Shippardson sold him the honor of Knaresborough, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, 20 December 1651. Shippardson had originally paid £1,341 for the honor. (C54/3656/40; E320/s219)

SUTTON, William, of London, haberdasher. He and Richard Brudnell bought Moat Park, Berkshire for £6,739.1.2, 20 June 1650. (C54/3503/40)

SWALLOW, Robert, of Norwich, esquire. Major of horse under Colonel Whalley. Previously he had been captain of horse under Lieutenant General Cromwell in the earl of Manchester's army. He was one of the trustees for his regiment's purchases. For himself he acquired 3 messuages in the Strand, Middlesex for an undisclosed sum, 15 March 1654. He also got the manors of West alton, Walsoken, Emeth and Tilney, Norfolk for an undisclosed sum, 15 March 1654. By another conveyance he got 199 acres in the manor of Terrington, Norfolk, also for an undisclosed sum, 3 April 1654. However, the manors of West Walton and Terrington were in the hands of Colonel Whalley by the restoration. (E121/2/5/51; C54/3719/14; C54/3753/1; C54/3781/40; CJ viii, 73)

SWAYNE, Richard, of the parish of Clere, Radnorshire, clerk. He and his wife Maude bought the manor of Welch Hay for £308, 22 March 1653. (E121/5/6/45)

SYKES, Richard, of estainster, gentleman. He bought part of the manor of Colne in the honor of Clitheroe, Lancashire for £98.13.4, 6 July 1654. He bought royalties of the manor of Whitgift, Yorkshire, as an original creditor for £669.12.0, 13 September 1650. He bought the manor of Whitgift cum Armin for £2, 2 November 1657. He bought the manors of Colne, Ightenhill, Penhulton, Worston, Chatburn and Aocrington, Lancashire, and several messuages in the city of Carlisle for £3,413.7.1, 17 December 1650. He later sold Penhulton to Thomas Somerscales, and the manors of Colne, Worston and Chatburn to Grace Sikes. (E121/3/1/149; E121/5/5/12, 44; E121/5/7/55)

SYLER, Edmund, of Boston, Lincolnshire, esquire. Colonel of foot in Boston garrison. Previously he had been lieutenant colonel of foot and captain of horse under Lord Willoughby, Colonel Ayloffe, Colonel King and Colonel Rossiter, in the east of Manchester's and Sir Thomas Fairfax's armies. Edward Southes conveyed to him part of the manor of Hogathorpe, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum, 1 December 1653. (Reg. Hist. ii, 569; E121/3/3/90; CP43/284/15)

SYMONDS, Thomas, chirurgion. Surgeon to the earl of Essex's regiment of horse and then to Colonel Sheffield's and later Colonel Harrison's regiments. In performance of a trust John Spencer conveyed to him 28 acres in Marylebone Park, Middlesex, 14 April 1652. (E121/3/4/27; C54/3677/39)

SYMONDS, William, of the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, esquire. Captain of foot in Major General Skippon's regiment. He and 9 others bought the manors of Dunstable, Bedfordshire, Clewer, Berkshire, Corsham, Wiltshire and Burwell, Cambridgeshire for £3,771.12.4<sup>3</sup>, 23 July 1651. (C54/3855/21; E121/5/7/35)

TALBOTT, Thomas, of Kingston-upon-Hull, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Poynts and Colonel Richard Thornton. Previously he had been lieutenant of horse to Edward Briggs in Colonel Henry Poules' and Colonel Sir William Fairfax's regiments; and then captain of horse under Sir William Fairfax and Colonel Mathew Alured. He bought the manor of Whaplode Abbots and Holbeach, Lincolnshire for £2,397.18.9<sup>1</sup>, 12 May 1653. He bought the honor and castle of Tickhill, Yorkshire, and various profits and tolls for £1,906.1.8<sup>7</sup>, 12 May 1653. He, Edward Salmon and John Northend bought part of the manor of Egham, Surrey and cottages and lands in Holderness, Yorkshire for £223.11.1, 15 February 1655. The same 3 also bought the manors of Cartmell, Lancashire, and Epworth, Lincolnshire for £5,910.8.5, 1 September 1652. Talbott bought the manors of Fosdyke and Bewsolas, Lancashire and Hemp Holme, Yorkshire for £3,314.9.1, 13 September 1650. Hemp Holme was in the hands of Hugh Bethell at the restoration. Talbott also bought the manors of Furness, Lancashire and Rosedale, Yorkshire for £6,909.6.10, 9 September 1650. (E121/3/3/117; E121/5/5/37; E121/5/7/116; E121/5/7/109; E121/5/7/29, 26)

TALBURST, Jeremiah, of the city of Carlisle, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Lilburne. He and 6 others bought the manor of Barnsley, Yorkshire and King's Colliery, Durham for £2,866.1.10<sup>1</sup>, 5 January 1652. They sold parcels in Barnsley to Thomas Arundell. (E121/5/7/23)

TANNER, Thomas. He, Richard Heywood and William Dawgs bought the Fussells division of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire for £3,800, 19 July 1653. (D113/20/138/565)

TAPP, Edmund, of London, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Colonel Harrison. Previously he had been lieutenant of horse under Captain Richard Nichollett in Colonel Popham's and Colonel George Star's regiments in Major General Massey's brigade. William Gough sold him the greater lodge and 114 acres in Marylebone Park, Middlesex for an undisclosed sum. He sold parts of his holding to Stephen Inthrop and Thomas Parsons. (E121/3/4/27; C54/3579/3)

TAYLOR, Edward, of Poole, Dorset, esquire. Ensign of foot in Major Skutt's company and Colonel Bingham's regiment in Poole garrison. He and 8 others bought land in Wiltshire, but when it was conveyed to William Bradford and James Lotherington, Taylor was not mentioned as one of the grantors. (E121/5/3/19)

TAYLOR, George, of Blakesley, Northamptonshire, yeoman. As the immediate tenant he bought two yard lands in the manor of Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £46.4.0, 9 August 1651. (E121/4/1/69)

TAYLOR, John, of Chilton Cantelo, Somerset, gentleman. John Warr sold him and William Frye messuages and lands in the manor of Ryme Intrinsica, Dorset for £169.10.0, 30 December 1652. (C54/3729/18)

TAYLOR, John, of London, gentleman. He and John Houghton bought several parcels of ground in the parish of Garthorpe, Leicestershire for £272, 11 August 1652. The purchase was made with assigned bills. The same two men bought Willington Ferry and a fishing on the River Trent in Leicestershire and Derbyshire for £768, 11 August 1652. (E121/3/2/106; E121/5/7/105)

TAYLOR, Nicholas, of Presteigne, Radnorshire, esquire. As the immediate tenant he bought part of the manor of Presteigne for £41.2.3, 14 June 1652. (E121/5/6/85)

TAYLOR, Silas, of Clement Danes, Middlesex, gentleman. He bought the manor of West Ham as an original creditor and then sold it to Robert Smith. (E121/2/5/8)

TAYLOR, Thomas, of Kimberworth, Yorkshire, gentleman. Adam Baynes sold him and Samuel Reason meadow ground in the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £2,278.5.3, 2 November 1652. (C54/3664/18)

TAYLOR, William, of York, alderman. He, John Clayton and William Barwick sold the manor of Edmonton to John Hexton.

TEMPLE, Sir John, of London, knight. Robert Hammond sold him and 5 others Reading Abbey, Berkshire and the mansion house of Chertsey, Surrey for an undisclosed sum, 17 June 1651. These properties had originally cost £3,707. 6. 9. (C54/3611/43; E121/5/7/44)

THEED, Thomas, of Mantmore, Buckinghamshire, esquire. Godfrey Ellis sold him and Thomas Deverell so much of the honor of Berkhamsted as lay in Buckinghamshire for £50, 8 November 1655. (C54/3850/12)

THEED, William, of Berkhamsted St Peter, Hertfordshire, gentleman or grocer. Godfrey Ellis sold him the moiety of the honor and manor of Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire for £320, 10 November 1653. Griffantius Phillippe sold him the moiety of the honor and manor of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire for £400, 20 November 1652. (C54/3731/25; C54/3720/36)

THOMAS, Daniel, junior. Captain in the regiment of Colonel James Gray. He bought the manors of River, Kent and Northolme, Lincolnshire for £1,071.12.9, 5 July 1650. (E121/5/7/9)

THOMLINSON, John, of Roade, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he and John Marriott bought lands and tenements in the honor of Grafton, Northamptonshire for £1,181.11.5½, 25 September 1651. He bought tenements and lands in the manor of Hartwell, Northamptonshire for £50.14.2, 8 February 1655. He and John Herbert bought lands and tenements in Ashton and Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire for £743.14.8, 23 June 1652. He and Marriott bought, on behalf of 13 people, several messuages and lands in Ashton and Paulerspury, Northamptonshire for £1,065.16.9½, 1 June 1652. He alone bought several parcels of ground in or near the city of York for £50.12.6, 9 November 1657. (E121/4/1/68, 97, 87, 71; E121/5/5/45)

THOMLINSON, Mathew. Colonel of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He bought several rents of assise out of several commots within the manor of Dyndathway, Anglesey for £2,754.3.5, 31 July 1654. Ralph Margery and 4 others sold him Ampthill Great Park, Bedfordshire for £6,139.16.0, 29 March 1653. The park had originally cost £7,410. (E121/5/6/51; C54/3722/15; Dd13/20/132/539)

THOMSON, Francis, of London, haberdasher. He and 3 others bought Beckerings Park, Bedfordshire and conveyed it to Thomas Noell. He bought a parcel in the honor of Pickering for £500, 14 February 1655. He and Henry Cannon bought indsor Little Park, Berkshire for £3,473.5.0, but in 1654 they had to sell it back to the state for what they had paid for it. It also appears that Thomson bought a little park near the forest of Alice Holt, Hampshire for £130. (Dd13/20/152/628; CSPD 1654, 144; CSPD 1657-8, 136)

THORNE, George, of Reading, Berkshire, clothier. As the immediate tenant he and Richard Sounders bought Calcot Place, Berkshire for £242.6.8, 12 February 1651. (E121/1/2/25)

THORNETON, Edward, of London, merchant tailor. He, William Pollard and John West bought with assigned bills, tenements and lands in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £180.19.4, 26 November 1650. (E121/4/1/41)

THORPE, Henry, of Crowland, Lincolnshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he and John Wood bought fishing fields in the manor of Crowland, Lincolnshire for £774.13.4, 26 September 1650. (E121/3/3/36)

THORPE, John, of Berwick-on-Tweed, gentleman. He was a serjeant to Captain Read under Colonel Overton. He was one of 17 purchasers of the manor of Holme Cultram, Cumberland, which ended up in the possession of Thomas Lilburne. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manor of Northstead, Yorkshire for £1,336.3.4, 29 July 1650. He was one of 11 purchasers of the manors of Rushden and Rands, Northamptonshire and Cillingham, Kent for £4,067.14.11½, 17 July 1650. (E121/5/5/5; E121/5/7/18)

THORPE, Robert, of St Giles-in-the-Fields, or of Covent Garden, Middlesex, esquire. Colonel. He and George Floyd bought a parcel of Theobalds manor for £639.13.8, 18 March 1651. Nicholas Greene and Augustine Couldisborough bought demesnes of the manor of Mere, Wiltshire on behalf of him, William Yapp and Edward Moore for £3,513.8.0, 21 February 1651. Thorpe alone bought a parcel of the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire for £1,543, 22 March 1653. He and Edward Moore bought the manor of Pullielley, Cambridgeshire for £1,662.14.4, 6 May 1651. He and George Floyd bought rents, fines and profits of the courts of the honor of Clare, Mandeville, Tutbury etc. in Suffolk, Norfolk, Hertfordshire, Derbyshire and

Yorkshire for £925.7.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 21 July 1651. Thorpe, Robert Smith and William Horrington bought the manors of Pleshey, Theobalds and ainfleet in Essex, Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire for £2,852.4.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 6 September 1650. He sold the manor of Pleshey to William Spencer, and the manor of Theobalds to Richard Haywood. He bought other crown lands which he sold to George Downing, Arthur Young and Edward Greene. He also appears to have acquired crown land in Spalding, Lincolnshire, Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire and Waltham, Hertfordshire and Essex which he sold to John Woody, Robert Gylllyatt, Richard Gartham and Edward Horsman. Thorpe and three others bought the moiety of the barony of Kendal, Westmorland, and the manor of Thornton and the quarter part of the barony of Kendal, Westmorland and Yorkshire for £5,766.4.5, 16 April 1651. (E121/2/9/38; E121/5/3/15; E121/5/5/36; E121/5/6/49; E121/5/7/79, 12; Dd13/20/88/353)

THROCKMORTON, William, of London, esquire. Lieutenant colonel of foot under Colonel George Cooke. Previously he had been lieutenant colonel in Edward Harley's regiment in the garrison of Gloucester. In performance of a trust Edward Southes conveyed to him and Michael Hale lands in Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire, 20 June 1653. (E121/3/3/90; CP43/283/56)

THURLOE, John, of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. As an original creditor he bought a farm house in Tunford, Hertfordshire for £753.13.0, 8 August 1650. (E121/2/9/10)

TIBBES, Thomas, of Blisworth, Northamptonshire, gentleman. As the immediate tenant he bought the manor house of Blisworth for £621.18.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 11 September 1650. (E121/4/1/28)

TIBBS, William, of London, citizen and stationer. With assigned bills he and Thomas Coulbourne bought parcels of woodground in the manor of Blisworth, Northamptonshire for £342.1.8, 24 January 1651. Samuel Chidley sold him a tenement and pasture ground in Greens-Norton and woodland called the Frith in Potterspury, Northamptonshire for £100, 21 November 1651. Chidley also sold him a messuage in Greens-Norton for £132.10.0, 15 October 1651. (E121/4/1/51; C54/3634/8; C54/3636/21)

TICHBORNE, Robert, of London, citizen and skinner. Colonel of militia and Lieutenant of the Tower of London. He bought the Hobby Stables in the capital messuage of Greenwich, Kent for £223.7.6, 20 September 1653. He bought the manor of Old Court, Kent for £2,895.13.4, 19 August 1650. He sold a number of parcels to Thomas Blount. (Society of Genealogists, Index of London citizens, compiled by Percival Boyd, no. 15,594; E121/2/11/57, 15)

TOMS, Robert. He and Richard Scott, the immediate tenants, bought several messuages and lands in Potterspury, Northamptonshire for £69.19.4, 7 May 1651. (E121/4/1/80)

TOPPING, John. He may have been the man referred to in 1657 as "Captain Toppin, governor of Tynemouth". He and 6 others bought the manor of Barnsley, Yorkshire and King's Colliery, Durham for £2,866.1.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 5 January 1652. They later sold parcels in Barnsley to Thomas Arundell. (CSPD 1656-7, 272; E121/5/7/23)

TOUL(N)SON, Clement, of Stakes, Yorkshire, gentleman. Captain of horse in the Lancashire militia. Richard Bening and Blount Sadlier sold him lands in the chase of Bewland, Yorkshire and Lancashire for £139.11.6, 25 April 1659. (CSPD 1650, 505; C54/4024/29)

TOWNSEND, George, of Staple Inn, London, gentleman. Samuel Chidley sold him 3 messuages in St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex for £80, 11 January 1658. (CP43/300/18)

TRACY, George. Captain in Major General Ireton's troop in the service of Ireland. Previously he had been a trooper under Lieutenant General Cromwell in Manchester's army and then a cornet in Sankey's troop in Fleetwood's regiment. He bought the manor of East Dereham, Norfolk for £2,064.4.7, 8 May 1650. (E121/3/6/4)

TRACY, John, of London, merchant. He bought the Kensington division of Hyde Park, Middlesex for £3,906.7.6, 5 April 1653. Anthony Deane sold him a further 61 acres in Hyde Park for £1,740.6.8, 20 June 1654. (E121/3/4/134; C54/3812/17)

TRAPHAM, Thomas, chirurgion. As an original creditor he bought parcels in Weston and Moulton, Lincolnshire for £90, 18 May 1653. He bought a messuage and several parcels of land in Sutton St James, Lincolnshire for £165.0.6, 26 May 1653. (E121/3/3/118, 119)

TRAVIS, William, of London, gentleman. Samuel Chidley sold him and John Holliday the manors of Weston Turville and Saunderton St Mary, Buckinghamshire for £240, 19 June 1654. (C54/3773/43)

TRENCHARD, John, of Westminster. He bought Vaux Hall in Lambeth, Surrey for £750, 8 March 1653. (E121/4/8/120)

TREVILL, Andrew, of Ethie, Cornwall, esquire. As an original creditor he bought the fishing water of Fowey, Cornwall for £75, 11 June 1657. He bought the manor of Restormel, Cornwall for £228.10.0, 30 April 1650. He bought Restormel Park, Cornwall for £2,080.19.6, 20 April 1650. (E121/1/6/75, 2, 1)

TREVOR, Sir John, knight. John Raynor, Thomas Brough and William Stebbing sold him a warren of coneys in the parishes of Byfleet and Weybridge, Surrey for an undisclosed sum, 24 March 1652. (C54/3688/23)

TREVOR, John, the younger, of Westminster, esquire. Robert Hammond sold him and 5 others Reading Abbey, Berkshire and the mansion house of Chertsey Becond, Surrey for an undisclosed sum, 17 June 1651. (C54/3611/43)

TRIGG, William, of London, gentleman. Isaac Hunt and Anne, the widow of John Hunt sold him part of the capital messuage of Theobalds, Hertfordshire for £1,000, 5 January 1656. John Sparrow and William May sold him part of the same capital messuage for £200, 17 November 1653. The same 2 men sold him Dell's Lodge and 113 acres in Theobalds Park for £1,200, 17 November 1653. Roger Humphries sold him 44 acres in Theobalds Park for £700, 12 December 1653. Humphries had originally bought the 44 acres from Sparrow and May. (C54/3876/29; C54/3733/31, 30, 29)

TROUTBECK, John, of the city of York, esquire. He was probably an officer in a northern regiment. Adam Baynes sold him and 3 others the honor of Pickering and the manors of Pickering and Scalby, Yorkshire for £3,018.4.1½, 1 March 1653. Adam and Joseph Eyre sold him and 3 others half of Blandsby Park, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum 4 March 1653. The whole park had originally cost £5,966.7.6. (C54/3749/32; C54/3751/8; E121/5/5/30)

**TUE, Thomas**, of Blisworth, Northamptonshire, yeoman. With assigned bills he bought a parcel of the manor of Blisworth for £89.16.2½, 7 May 1651. (E121/4/1/64)

**TUFFNAYLE, Abraham**, of London, citizen and salter. William Goodrick and Adam Baynes sold him the bakehouse belonging to the palace of Richmond, Surrey for £48, 1 July 1651. (C54/3582/8)

**TURBRIDGE, Robert**, of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, esquire. With assigned bills he bought messuages and lands in the parish of Chelveston cum Caldecott, Northamptonshire for £1,119.16.8, 26 November 1650. As an original creditor he bought Otlands House, Surrey for £4,933.18.0, 4 September 1650. (E121/4/1/38; E121/4/8/29)

**TURNER, John**, gentleman. William Combey sold him half the manor of Rudfen, Warwickshire for an undisclosed sum, Easter 1654. (CP25(2)/606)

**TURPIN, William**, of London, draper. With assigned bills he and William Glascocke bought Hamonds tenement, Essex on behalf of William Stane for £619.15.0, 26 June 1650. They later sold it to John and James Clarke in return for £272 paid to William Stane. Turpin and Henry Whetstone bought Clewer Farm, Berkshire for £1,650.6.8, 26 June 1651. (E121/2/5/7; C54/3612/17)

**TWISLETON, Philip**, of Drax, Yorkshire, esquire. Colonel of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Previously he had been major of horse under Colonel Rossiter in Manchester's army. As his share of his regiment's purchases he acquired the manor of Newark, Nottinghamshire for £3,871.8.10½, 6 June 1655. He also acquired parcels in Pinchbeck, Weston and Moulton, Lincolnshire for £497.18.6½, 1 February 1658. He and Richard Watson later sold land in Moulton, Spalding and Whaplode to Henry Browne. (E121/3/3/113; C54/3875/24; C54/3980/32)

**TWIST, Theophila**, of Maidford, Northamptonshire, widow of Richard Twist, esquire. Samuel Chidley sold her 31 acres in the parish of Blakesley, Northamptonshire for £91, 6 December 1656. (C54/3899/11)

**UNDERWOOD, William**, of London, esquire. Colonel. He and William Parker bought the manor and demesnes of Moulton Harrington, Lincolnshire for £3,446.13.10½, 25 May 1652. (E121/3/3/62)

**URLIN, John**, of London, draper. He bought the manor of Wingham, Kent for £4,454.12.7½, 12 April 1652. He sold small parcels of ingham to Roger Lukyn, Edward Boys and Petley Wyborne. Urlin also bought Petters Wood, Northamptonshire for £2,279.11.8, 28 July 1651. He bought a parcel of wood ground in the parish of Roade, Northamptonshire for £190.19.0, 16 February 1657. He bought the manor of Old Shoreham, Sussex and sold it to Stephen Adams. Urlin also bought the manor of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire and coppices in Lillingstone Dayrell, Buckinghamshire for £3,506.8.2, 11 May 1653. Although he was not listed as one of the original purchasers, John Urlin joined with 5 others to sell the manor of Higham Ferrers to alter Erling. (E121/2/11/48; E121/4/1/65, 103; E121/5/7/90)

**URWIN, Robert**, of Westminster, gentleman. As original creditors he and George Hooper bought a messuage in Bexley, Kent for £190.15.0, 20 March 1657. (E121/2/11/63)

**VANE, Charles**, of Westminster, esquire. With assigned bills he bought lands in the manor of Chopwell, Durham for £404.18.2, 17 January 1652. (E121/2/4/46)



VANE, Sir Henry, knight. He bought lands called Hallerbush, in Gainford, Durham for £128. (Dd13/20/138/564)

VAUGHAN, Rice, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. He and 4 others bought several properties and sold most of them to James Phillipps, Thomas Evans and John Jones. The only property which they did not apparently resell was the manor of Grafton and Hartwell, Northamptonshire. (E121/5/7/31)

VAUSE, Thomas, of Pirton, Hertfordshire, gentleman. George Smithson, Thomas Lilburne, William Bradford, George Watkinson and Francis Wilkinson sold him and John Stiles the manor of Steppingley, Bedfordshire for £38, 6 April 1655. (C54/3871/38)

VAUX, George, of Westminster, gentleman. He and John Warr bought the manor of Langton Herring, Dorset for £702.10.10, 1 April 1651. They later sold the manor to Edward Sexby. Vaux bought a messuage in Waltham Cross, Hertfordshire for £562.17.4, 21 September 1650. He bought other lands which he sold to Thomas Fell, Thomas Birch, Gregory Clement and John Bolton. (E121/2/3/28; E121/2/9/22)

VINCENT, George, of Stow Bardolph, Norfolk, gentleman. As the immediate tenant he bought St Ann's Hill in the parish of Chertsey, Surrey for £25, 18 June 1650. (E121/4/8/9)

VINCENT, Thomas, of Chelveston cum Caldecott, Northamptonshire. As the immediate tenant he bought tenements in Chelveston cum Caldecott for £429.12.9½, 6 May 1650. (E121/4/1/3)

VIVIAN, Francis, of Collumb Minor, Cornwall, gentleman. As an original creditor he bought the manor of Talskiddy, Cornwall for £113.4.7, 17 November 1652. (E121/1/6/65)

WADNOE, Henry. Walter Erling and Paul Fetch sold him and 3 others 56 acres in Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire for an undisclosed sum, Easter 1656. (GP25(2)/582)

WAGSTAFFE, Richard, of Camilton, Bedfordshire, gentleman. Captain of foot under Colonel Ingoldsby. He bought the manor of Camilton in Shefford, Bedfordshire for £586.1.3, 13 November 1650. He was one of 10 purchasers of Ingleby manor, Lincolnshire for £6,610.10.9, 9 September 1650. At the restoration Colonel Ingoldsby was in possession of the manor. Wagstaffe was one of 11 purchasers of messuages, lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £830.13.3½, 1 March 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of lands in the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He was one of 10 purchasers of Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. They later sold Dorney House to John Dawberne. Wagstaffe and Thomas Worth bought Olney Park, Buckinghamshire for £5,137.6.8, 19 June 1650. (H.G. Tibbutt, "Colonel John Okey 1606-1662," Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, *Publications* xxxv (1955), p. 79; E121/1/1/22; E121/3/3/31, 115; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45; E320/C4; Dd8/30/4/12)

WAGSTAFFE, Thomas, of Knightcote, Warwickshire, esquire. Captain under Colonel Ashenhurst. He and Richard Sankey bought the manor of Rudfen for £9,159.15.6, 10 December 1650. Wagstaffe later sold 373 acres in Rudfen to Samuel Ayre. (E121/5/1/14)

WALKER, John, of the Inner Temple, London, gentleman. As the immediate tenant he bought the manor house of Twickenham, Middlesex for £914.17.4, 2 November 1650. (E121/3/4/50)

WALKLATE, Gregory, of London, grocer. With assigned bills he bought Heigline Park, Staffordshire for £5,540.8.4, 4 March 1652. (E121/4/6/91)

WALLER, Sir Hardress, of Dublin, Ireland, knight. Colonel of foot. John Clerke, Philip Exbery and Edward Allen sold him several tenements and 484 acres in the manor of Tinten, Cornwall for an undisclosed sum, 7 December 1655. (C54/3863/9)

WALLINGTON, Joseph, of Essex, esquire. An officer in Desborow's horse regiment. He and 5 other officers of the same regiment bought Windsor Great Park, Berkshire and Surrey for £22,755, 14 October 1650. (C54/3506/18)

WALLOPP, Richard, of the Inner Temple, London, esquire. John Bacon sold him and William LeHunt, Kings Wood in the manor of Woodstock, Oxfordshire for an undisclosed sum, 25 March 1653. (C54/3720/42)

WALLS, William, of Hougham, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Cornet of horse under Colonel Philip Twisleton. Previously he had been a trooper under Colonel Edward Rossiter in Manchester's army. He was a trustee for his regiment's purchases of crown land. For himself he acquired parcels in Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire for £603.14.0, and £608.19.7 in two separate conveyances in June 1655. (C54/3872/1; C54/3875/33)

WALTON, Valentine, of Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire, esquire. Colonel of foot. Previously he had been captain of horse in Essex's army and then colonel of foot in Manchester's army. The manor of Somersham, Huntingdonshire was bought on his behalf for £19,885.14.0, 5 May 1652. Crowland manor, Lincolnshire was bought on his behalf for £3,160.0.8, 25 November 1650. (E121/2/10/49; E121/3/3/46)

WARD, Thomas, of Lincoln, gentleman. Trooper under Colonel Twisleton. Previously he had been a trooper under Colonel Rossiter in Manchester's army. He was one of his regiment's trustees for the purchase of crown land but did not acquire any for himself. (E121/3/3/113)

WARD, Thomas, of Boston, Lincolnshire, baxter. Probably a member of Colonel Syler's regiment in Boston garrison. Edward Southes sold him and Thomas Gilbert 21 acres in Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum, 1 September 1653. (CP43/283/22)

WARD, William. Robert Barwick sold him and Robert and Thomas Peirson 75 acres in Rosedale, Yorkshire for an undisclosed sum, Easter 1654. (CP25(2)/614)

WARR, John, of Yetminster, Dorset, gentleman. Minister to Colonel Edward Prichard's foot regiment in the garrison of Cardiff. He bought the manor of Ryme Intrinsic, Dorset for £3,540.18.3, 27 August 1651. He sold parcels of the manor to William Frye, John Taylor, Nathaniel Harris, Edward Cutler, James Piddle, George Strowd, Thomas and William Beere and George Husday. Warr bought the manor of North Hill, Cornwall for £148.1.3, 9 May 1651. He bought Prince ood, Dorset for £1,208.6.8, 9 January 1651. He bought a tenement and land in Eversholt parish, Dorset for £245.3.4, 31 July 1651. He bought Parkers Lease, Dorset for £132.6.8, 13 May 1651. He bought Saverna Hill House in the parish of Skenfrith, Monmouthshire for £160.19.0, 2 June 1652. He and 3 others bought the

manor of Stoke under Hamdon, Somerset for £5,109.13.4, 20 March 1652. He sold part of his share to Thomas Morris. Warr bought Engliscombe Farm, Somerset for £1,055.12.0, 17 May 1651. He bought a messuage and lands in Martock, Somerset for £1,753.0.6, 8 March 1651. He and John and Robert Cobbett bought the manor of Pevensy, Sussex for £1,492.9.0½, 12 April 1652. Warr bought lands in Snaith, Yorkshire for £596.16.0, 23 December 1650. He bought other crown lands which he sold to Francis Fisher, Joseph Rosewell, Thomas Clement, Peter Myrford, Edward Sexby and Thomas Noell. Warr also bought from Edward Sexby the demesnes of the manor of Portland, Dorset and the manor of Ryne Entrinacia, alias Langton Herring, Dorset for £500 and "a greater sume of Money", 20 February 1652. (E121/2/3/40; E121/1/6/50; E121/2/3/21; E121/2/3/38, 30; E121/3/5/103; E121/4/5/94; E121/4/5/69, 64; E121/4/9/95; E121/5/5/15; C54/3602/35)

WARREN, Albert, of Halstead, Essex, gentleman. Thomas French sold him and William Ellis the south east part of the Maison dieu in Dover, Kent for an undisclosed sum, 13 February 1654. (C54/3746/16)

WASHINGTON, Adam, of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. As the immediate tenant he bought Bowers tenement, Surrey for £357.3.9, 24 October 1650. (E121/4/8/46)

WATHEY, John, of Ripley, Derbyshire, yeoman. Thomas Poulton, Thomas Wright and John Gillott sold him the hundred of Appletree, Derbyshire for £428, 7 June 1651. The original purchasers had paid £596.5.6 for the property. (C54/3595/28)

WATKINSON, George, of Ecoup, Yorkshire, esquire. Lieutenant to Captain Henry Currer and then Captain Walter Bethell in Colonel Hugh Bethell's regiment. Previously he had been captain lieutenant in Colonel John Lambert's troop and regiment. He and 5 others bought the east park of Buckholt in Hampshire and Wiltshire for £946.10.0, 2 September 1650. Watkinson was involved in many other purchases of crown land which were subsequently conveyed to Edward Smith, Abraham Haines, John Webb, John Lambert, Henry Hedworth, Richard Byrdus, John Harrison, Philip Wilkinson, Thomas Strangeways, William Bradford, Thomas Vause, John Stiles, James Lotherington, Mathew Foster, John Pearson, Richard Skepper, William Peverell, and William Bywater. (E121/5/5/8; E121/5/7/27)

WATSON, Richard, of Bristol, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Scroop. Previously he had been a cornet under Major Grosse and a lieutenant in Adrian Scroop's troop in Colonel Sheffield's regiment in Essex's army. He and 3 others bought part of the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire for £2,411.19.8, 1 April 1652. He and Philip Twisleton later sold land in Spalding, Moulton and Whaplode to Henry Browne. Watson bought the manor of Caldecott, Monmouthshire for £2,374.1.10½, 19 November 1650. With William Peverell he bought Otlands Park, Surrey for £8,209.3.6, 18 May 1659. (E121/3/3/78; E121/3/5/47; C54/4031/14)

WATSON, Edward, of Combhill, Yorkshire, yeoman. As an immediate tenant he bought part of the honor of Pickering, Yorkshire on behalf of himself and 30 other tenants for £1,002.8.10, 8 December 1651. (E121/5/5/20)

WEBB, Abraham, of London, esquire. As immediate tenants he and Thomas Preston bought a messuage and lands in the manor of Ashton, Northamptonshire for £104.4.10, 4 February 1652. (E121/4/1/72)

WEBB, Hugh, of London, gentleman. He and William Marr bought the Whitewood and Lower Lodge Divisions of Bowood Park, Wiltshire for £1,869.10.0, 20 December 1653. (E121/5/3/38)

WEBB, John, of Butleigh, Somerset, gentleman. George Smithson, Thomas Lilburne, William Bradford, George Watkinson and Francis Wilkinson sold him, Edward Smith and Abraham Haines lands in Epworth, Lincolnshire for £1,000, 19 November 1653. (C54/3733/16)

WEBB, John, of the parish of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire. He and Richard Whitney bought lands and tenements in the manor of Stoke Bruern, for £936.0.9, 6 November 1650. (E121/4/1/37)

WEBB, William, of London, citizen and grocer. With assigned bills he bought a toft and parcels of land near the city of York for £142.10.0, 19 March 1652. (E121/5/5/26)

WENSLEY, Robert. With assigned bills he bought two messuages in the Woolstaple, Middlesex for £167.13.4, 18 March 1652. (E121/3/4/97)

WEST, John, of London, girdler. He acted as a trustee for John Wheatly in the purchase of tenements near Tower Hill, Middlesex. West, Edward Thorneton and William Pollard bought tenements and lands in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £180.19.4, 26 November 1650. (E121/4/1/41)

WEST, Stephen, of Oxford, gentleman. Probably an officer in Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment. He and 9 others bought the manor of Ingleby, Lincolnshire, but at the restoration it was in Colonel Ingoldsby's possession. West and 10 others bought lands in Spalding manor, Lincolnshire for £830.14.6, 1 March 1653. He and 9 others bought lands in the forest of Braydon, Wiltshire for £2,351.4.0, 27 September 1653. He and 9 others bought Dorney House, Surrey and the manor of Pengelly, Cornwall for £2,350.19.11, 10 October 1650. They sold Dorney House to John Dawberne. (E121/3/3/115; E121/5/3/34; E121/5/7/45)

WESTLAKE, Thomas, of Exeter, Devon, gentleman. Thomas Saunders and John Gorges sold him several parcels of the manor of Bradninch, Devon for £521.4.10½, 6 October 1657. (C54/3947/3)

WHALLEY, Anthony and Mary. As immediate tenants they bought Whalley's farm, Northamptonshire for £141.0.8, 23 September 1650. (D18/30/5/5; D13/20/30/120)

WHALLEY, Edward, of Westminster, esquire. Colonel of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. At the restoration he was in possession of the manors of East Alton and Terrington, Norfolk. (CJ viii, 73)

WARTON, Alan, of Westminster, gentleman. With assigned bills he bought two tenements in Margaret's Lane, Westminster for £444, 18 March 1656. (E121/3/4/143)

WHEATLY, John, of Clerkenwell, Middlesex, gentleman. John West acted as a trustee for Wheatly in the purchase of tenements near the Tower of London for £3,556.6.8, 25 June 1658. Wheatly and the 5 other purchasers later conveyed some of the tenements to Nathaniel Mathew. (C54/4034/16; E121/3/4/151)

**WHEATLY, Richard**, of Chertsey, Surrey, yeoman. As the immediate tenant he bought tenements in Chertsey for £81.4.2, 20 August 1650. With assigned bills he bought a tenement in the parish of Chertsey for £446.18.6½, 7 January 1651. He bought another parcel in Chertsey with assigned bills for £14.5.0, 31 October 1651. He bought Chertsey Hare (arrent?) for 173.3.0, 28 June 1651. Thomas Milward and Godfrey Ellis sold him a parcel of woodland in the parish of Chertsey for £50, 24 June 1651. (E121/4/8/26, 56, 85, 76; C54/3581/14)

**WHEATSTONE, Henry**, of London. He and William Turpin bought Clewer Farm, Berkshire for £1,650.6.8, 26 June 1651. (C54/3612/17)

**WHETHAM, Nathaniel**. He and John Lobb bought land, which they sold to John Menheir.

**WHICHCOTT, Christopher**, of New Windsor, Berkshire, esquire. Colonel of foot and governor of Windsor Castle. Previously he had been major to Colonel Player's foot regiment and then major general of a brigade in Essex's army. He bought the King's Garden in New Windsor Parish, Berkshire for £224, 14 June 1653. He bought Frogmore Farm, Berkshire for £2,804.14.1, 23 July 1651. (E121/1/2/46; E121/1/2/-)

**WHITE, Francis**, of Rochester, esquire. Major of horse in Thomas Fairfax's regiment. Previously he had been a corporal under Captain Clay in Ski pon's regiment in Essex's army, then a serjeant under Major Holmes in Manchester's regiment and army, and later a lieutenant to Captain Robert Johnston in Manchester's regiment and army. He was a trustee for his regiment's purchases of Cheshunt Park and the manor of Beamondhall, Hertfordshire for £10,594.18.8, 25 June 1652. For his share he acquired 133 acres in Cheshunt Park for an undisclosed sum, 8 April 1652. (E121/2/9/46; C54/3695/44)

**WHITE, Nathaniel**. Ralph Farr bought several mills and lands in Dorset on behalf of White for £405, 20 March 1651. (E121/2/3/26)

**WHITE, Thomas**, of Wells, Somerset, gentleman. John Dove and Walter Bockland sold him and William Ballatt a parcel of the manor of Shepton Mallet, Somerset for £200, 6 December 1652. (C54/3685/16)

**WHITE, Stephen**, of Ellingborough, Northamptonshire, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Fleetwood. Previously he had been quartermaster to Captain Francis Russell's troop in Colonel Vermuyden's regiment in Manchester's army. He was a trustee for his regiment's purchase of oodstock, which was subsequently conveyed to Fleetwood. White and 3 others bought Old Enfield Park, Middlesex for £7,519.19.6, 18 February 1652. They sold a small part of the park to Peter Steery. (E121/3/4/9; C54/3676/45)

**WHITE, Thomas**, of Clifford's Inn, London, gentleman. As the immediate tenant he bought lands, mills and tenements in Horsham, Sussex for £2,064.10.0, 13 September 1650. (E121/4/9/34)

**WHITEHEAD, Charles**, of Abingdon, Berkshire, gentleman. Lieutenant of horse under Captain Arthur Evelin in Colonel Harrison's regiment. Previously he had been quartermaster to Lieutenant General Hammond's troop in Manchester's regiment and army. He bought Dighton's Lodge in Enfield Chase, Middlesex for £904.7.4, 16 May 1651. (E121/3/4/71)

**WHITINGE**, Timothy, of London, esquire. A member of Captain Kirkby's troop in Ireton's regiment. Previously he had been a captain of horse in Colonel Turner's regiment in the London Brigade. He was also a captain of foot in Ereter Garrison and assistant to the adjutant general in the earl of Manchester's army. He bought the manor of Deaford, Leicestershire for £615.12.3, 14 May 1650. (E121/3/2/5)

**WHITNEY**, Richard, of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire, yeoman. As immediate tenants he and John Webb bought lands and tenements in the manor of Stoke Bruern for £936.0.9, 6 November 1650. (E121/4/1/37)

**WHITWORTH**, Jeremy, of Cripplegate, Lancashire, gentleman. He and Thomas Birch bought revenues within the wapentake of Salford, Lancashire for £1,103.9.8, 14 November 1653. He bought a parcel of the honor of Clitheroe, Lancashire for £3,297.5.0, 5 December 1651. He bought rents of the bailiwicks of Blackburnshire, Almonderness and Lynedale for £1,290.9.3, 19 September 1650. He bought other crown land which he sold to Ralph Standish, William Halsall, William Parkinson and Alexander Holt. (E121/3/1/124, 86, 30)

**WICKINS**, John. Viscount Monson sold him 40 acres in Paulerspury, Northamptonshire for an undisclosed sum, Trinity 1654. (CP25(2)/582)

**WILKINSON**, Francis, of Barton, Yorkshire, esquire. Lieutenant of horse under Captain Henry Wilkinson in Hugh Bethell's regiment. Previously he had been lieutenant of Captain Ward's troop under Colonel Charles Fairfax. He and 5 others bought the east park of Buckholt in Hampshire and Wiltshire for £946.10.0, 2 September 1650. Wilkinson was a regimental trustee in several other purchases but did not acquire any other property for himself. (E121/3/3/23; E121/5/7/27)

**WILKINSON**, George. With assigned bills he and John Punn bought lands and tenements in Greens-Norton, Northamptonshire for £301.4.7, 25 January 1651. (E121/4/1/47)

**WILKINSON**, John, of Sandwich, Kent, esquire. Lieutenant of foot under Captain Robert Cookin, Major Samuel Birch and Captain William Jones in the regiment of Colonel John Birch and Colonel John Humphreys in Herefordshire. He bought Queenborough Castle, Kent for £2,110.0.0½, 5 August 1650. (E121/2/11/13)

**WILKINSON**, Mathias, of London, citizen and grocer. As immediate tenants he, Roger Lasinby and Richard Price bought Sedgwick lands, Sussex for £2,573.3.9, 22 July 1650. (E121/4/9/17)

**WILKINSON**, Philip, of Fawcett, Yorkshire, gentleman. Quartermaster of horse under Colonel Robert Lilburne. George Smithson, Thomas Lilburne, William Bradford, George Watkinson, Francis Wilkinson, Samuel Sanderson, Robert Read, Robert Anderson, William Gough, Thomas Hughes, Edward Orpin, John Thorpe, Richard Clifton, Thomas Ellis and Abraham Spooner conveyed the manor of Holme Cultram to Wilkinson, John Harrison, Richard Burdus and Henry Hedworth. However, at the restoration the manor was in Thomas Lilburne's possession. (Reg. Hist. 1, 135; C54/3835/29)

**WILLCOX**, Richard, of Kensington, Middlesex, esquire. He bought the Gravel Pit division of Hyde Park, Middlesex for £4,141.11.0, 2 August 1653. (E121/3/4/133)

**WILLESBY**, John, esquire. Lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire were sold to him on behalf of himself and 35 others for £7,505.15.0, 6 September 1651. (E121/3/3/81)

**WILLIAMS, John**, of Llanbister, Radnorshire, esquire. Humphrey Jones and John Hunt sold him the manors of Comotoyder, Royader, Isthoyd, Southruralth, and Clawdestry, Radnorshire for an undisclosed sum, 28 February 1651. The manors had originally cost £3,328.8.9. (C54/3528/4; E121/5/6/25)

**WILLIAMS, Joseph**. Henry Gardner sold him and George Fentham 330 acres in Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire for £300, Trinity 1655. (CP25(2)/606)

**WILLIAMS, Richard**, of London, citizen and merchant tailor. As immediate tenants he and Robert Hassell bought the manor of East Moulsey Prior, Surrey for £912.4.0½, 30 April 1650. (E121/4/8/3)

**WILLSBYE, John**, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, esquire. Thomas Deane sold him the royalty of fishing in Welland, the tithe of flax in the parish of Pinchbeck and several parcels in Moulton, Weston and Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire for £328, 1 February 1657. (C54/3930/11)

**WILLSON, William**, of Boston, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Lieutenant of foot under Colonel Syler in Boston garrison. Edward Southes sold him lands in Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire for an undisclosed sum, 1 September 1653. Southes also sold him, Richard Rookeby, Ralph Horne, William Cook, Thomas Gilbert and Thomas Ward 150 acres in Hogthorpe for an undisclosed sum, Michaelmas 1653. (E121/3/3/90; CP43/283/25; CP25(2)/569)

**WILSON, John**, of Raithby, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Quartermaster of horse under Colonel Twisleton. As his share of his regiment's purchases he acquired Colebeach Farm in the parish of Surfleet, Lincolnshire for £759.8.0, 9 June 1655. (C54/3872/24)

**WILSON, Robert**, of Theydon, Essex, gentleman. As immediate tenants he and Thomas Hanson bought two fishing fields in the manor of Crowland, Lincolnshire for £201, 21 October 1650. (E121/3/3/42)

**WINTHROP, Stephen**, of London, esquire. Captain of horse under Colonel Thomas Harrison. Edmund Tapp sold him 58 acres and the great lodge on the south side of Marylebone Park, Middlesex, 19 September 1651. (C54/3580/18)

**WISDOME, Richard**, of Steeple Claydon, Bedfordshire, esquire. Captain. Adam Baynes sold him, William Michell, John Troutbeck and Denis Pepper the honor of Pickering and the manors of Pickering and Scalby, Yorkshire for £3,018.4.1½, 1 March 1653. (C54/3749/32)

**WISE, Robert**, of the parish of Mary Magdalene, Middlesex, church warden. He and Richard Elliott bought a tenement in Old Fishstreet, London for £127.10.0, 23 November 1655. (E121/3/4/136)

**WITHER, George**, of Westminster, esquire. As an original creditor he bought a tenement and lands in the parish of Egham, Surrey for £238.15.0, 10 July 1651. (E121/4/8/77)

**WITTEWRONG, Sir John**, of Harpenden, Hertfordshire, knight. Colonel of foot in Manchester's army. Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillipps sold him and 5 others the great gate in the dissolved monastery of St Albans, Hertfordshire for £90, 6 May 1651. (Reg. Hist. ii, 582; C54/3591/26)

**OLMER, Ralph**, of Wymondham, Norfolk, esquire. Hezekiah Haynes sold him the manor of Wymondham, Norfolk for £1,440, 11 February 1658. Haynes had paid £2,110.5.0 for the manor. (C54/3972/32; C54/3836/28)

WOOD, John, of Crowland, Lincolnshire, gentleman. With assigned bills he and Henry Thorpe bought fishing fields in the manor of Crowland, Lincolnshire for £774.13.4, 26 September 1650. (E121/3/3/36)

WOOD, William, of London, merchant. He was captain of horse under Colonel Christopher Copley and muster master general to the northern army. He was also joint commissary to the same army. He bought a third part of Havering Park, Essex for £4,158.14.3½, 8 July 1651. (E121/2/5/37)

WOODMAN, William, of London, cutler. He bought land in Walton upon Thames, Surrey with assigned bills, for £135.14.0, 8 February 1651. (E121/4/8/65)

WOODWARD, Hugh, gentleman. As the immediate tenant he bought Pell Mell Close, Middlesex for £1,912.15.10, 20 May 1652. (E121/3/4/101)

WOODWARD, Thomas, of Westminster, esquire. He bought wood land in the parish of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire for £589.12.4, 25 November 1650. (E121/4/1/39)

WOODY, John, Robert Thorpe sold him a parcel in Spalding, Lincolnshire for £41, Easter 1650. (CP25(2)/568)

WORSLEY, John, of London, gentleman. He and Mathew Scarborough bought lands in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Derbyshire for £245.19.9, 28 February 1654. They later sold some of these lands to Edmund Giles and George Hooper. (E121/5/7/96)

WORTH, Thomas, of Wallingford, Berkshire, gentleman. He and Richard Wagstaffe bought Olney Park, Buckinghamshire for £5,137.6.8, 19 June 1650. (E320/C4; Dd8/30/4/12)

WOTTON, Richard. He bought a parcel of the manor of Marden, Herefordshire for £113.3.10, 14 May 1650. He was an original creditor. (E121/2/8/2)

WRAGG, Richard, of London, merchant. He bought Hampton Court Ferry and Hampton Ferry in Surrey and Middlesex for £91.3.4, 9 May 1654. (Dd13/20/148/605)

WRAY, Edward, of South Hykeham, Lincolnshire, gentleman. Corporal of horse under Colonel Twisleton. Thomas Deane, Thomas Isod, William Walls, Nathaniel Foster and James Coale sold him several parcels of meadow ground in the west Carre of Snitterby, Lincolnshire, as his share of his regiment's purchases for £121.12.11, 4 June 1655. Wray and 8 others later sold a warren of coneys to Nathaniel Piennes. C54 3 72 I )

WRENCH, Robert, of London, citizen and apothecary. As an original creditor he bought two salthouses in Northwich, Cheshire for £344.8.0, 14 July 1652. (E121/1/5/62)

WRIGHT, Edmund, of Brixworth, Northamptonshire, gentleman. Lands and tenements in the manor of Spalding, Lincolnshire were bought on behalf of him and Thomas Ogle by Henry Robinson and Robert Cannon for £638.19.3, 14 June 1651. (E121/3/3/75)

WRIGHT, Martha, of London, widow. As the immediate tenant she bought parcels in West Ham, Essex for £68.16.4, 11 April 1650. (E121/2/5/1)



WRIGHT, Martin, of Oxford, alderman. John Hemadell and Robert Paunsfort sold him the manor of Shippon, Berkshire for £300, Hilary 1658-9. (Crest 6/1/79; CP25(2)/535)

WRIGHT, Nathaniel, of London, esquire. John Raynor sold him and 5 others the moiety of the manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex for £770, 21 September 1651. (C54/3618/19)

WRIGHT, Thomas, of Nottingham, esquire. Probably a member of Colonel Hutchinson's regiment in Nottingham garrison. He was a trustee for the garrison's purchases in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, but seems to have acquired nothing for himself. The lands in which he was involved as a purchaser were later sold to John Hutchinson, John Recklisse, Richard Mortlock, Thomas Lyndley, John Wathey, James Rotheram and Lawrence Collin.

WRIGHT, William. George Smithson, William Bradford, George Watkinson, Thomas Lilburne and Francis Wilkinson conveyed the honor of Pontefract, Yorkshire to Mathew Foster and John Pearson to be held on behalf of Wright and 12 others, 1 December 1656. The honor of Pontefract had originally cost £2,672.0.10. (C54/3901/4; E121/5/5/8)

WYBORNE, Petley, of St Dunstan in the east, London, citizen and tallowhandler. John Umlin sold him quit rents in the manor of Wingham, Kent for £10.1.4, 29 May 1658. (C54/3993/15)

WINSTANLEY, James, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex. He and Peter Brereton bought the manor and borough of Macclesfield, Cheshire on behalf of Samuel Rowe and Anthony Bothe for £634.17.4, 18 March 1653; (E121/1/5/67)

YAPP, William, brewer. Nicholas Greene and Augustine Gouldisborough bought demesnes of the manor of Mare, Wiltshire on behalf of Yapp, Edward Moore and Robert Thorpe for £351.8.0, 21 February 1651. (E121/5/3/15)

YARRANTON, Andrew, of Reck, Worcestershire, esquire. Lieutenant of horse under Captains Giles and Turton in Colonel Archer's and Mytton's regiments. Previously he had been a private soldier under Lieutenant Colonel Turton in Hartlebury Castle and then quartermaster of horse under Colonel John Bridges. He and Godfrey Ellis bought lands and tenements in Bewdley, Worcestershire on behalf of themselves and Edward Gittings for £2002.10.0, 14 December 1650. Yarranton also bought lands, tenements and cottages in Warwickshire and Staffordshire for £1,012.13.9, 29 October 1650. Yarranton and Ellis bought another property which they sold to Robert Drane, John Hamling and Henry Smith. Yarranton also sold land in Warwickshire to Stephen Halford. (E121/5/7/45; E121/5/4/11; E121/5/7/7)

YATE, Rice. Cornet of Colonel Rossiter's regiment. At the restoration he was in possession of 3/5 of Broghborough Park, Bedfordshire. (Crest 6/1/19-20)

YOUNG, Arthur, of London, esquire. Captain of foot under Colonel Barkstead. He and 6 others bought the manor of Sayes Court, Kent for £12,583.5.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 20 September 1650. They leased part of the manor to Robert Stanton and sold the rest to Francis Stanton, John Batersby, Stephen Kirke, Martin Noell, Robert Harbinn, William Peters and Edward Hall. John Rushworth, Edward Greene and Robert Thorpe sold the manor of Newnham, Bedfordshire to Young for £300, 2 July 1657. (E121/2/11/23; C54/3930/3)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

All books are published in London unless otherwise stated.

### Primary Sources

#### A. Manuscripts

##### Public Record Office

The PRO has most of the main collections dealing with the surveys, sales and resales of crown land, as well as the arrangements that were made at the restoration. These classes of documents are discussed at the appropriate places in the text of the thesis.

C3	Chancery Proceedings, Series II
C5	Chancery Proceedings, Six Clerks Series
C54	Chancery Enrolments, Close Rolls
CP25(2)	Common Pleas, Feet of Fines
CP 43	Common Pleas, Recovery Rolls
Crest 6/1, 2	Crown Estate Office, Entry Books and Registers: Surveyor General's Books of Constats, 1660-1661
E101/67/11A	Exchequer, King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various, Treasurers at War, Leger of Assessments for the Army
E121	Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Crown Lands: Certificates as to the Sale of
E315/173-4	Exchequer, Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books: Contracts for the Purchase of the Crown Lands. Commonwealth. 1649-1653
E315/314	Exchequer, Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books: Minute Book of the Commissioners for the Sale of Crown Lands, 1649-1659
E317	Exchequer, Augmentation Office; Parliamentary Surveys

- E320 Exchequer, Augmentation Office: Particulars for the Sale of the Estates of Charles I
- E351/302 Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Declared Accounts: The Account of the Receipts of the Treasurers at War, 28 March 1645 to 25 December 1651
- E351/603 Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Declared Accounts: Accounts of Sir John Dethick, Treasurer for the Sale of Crown Lands, 1649, 1652, 1654 and 1656
- KB King's Bench: Crown. Plea Rolls, Coram Rege Rolls
- LR2/56 Land Revenue, Miscellaneous Books: "Lands Demised by the Crown from 1640 to 1667"
- LR2/266 Land Revenue, Miscellaneous Books: Papers concerning the Crown Lands at the Restoration
- SP18 State Papers, Domestic: Interregnum
- SP25 State Papers Domestic: Interregnum (Council of State)
- SP28 State Papers Domestic (Commonwealth Exchequer Papers)
- SP29 State Papers Domestic: Charles II
- SP46 State Papers Domestic: Supplementary

British Museum

- Add. 21,327 Calendars of the surveys, and particulars of sale, of the estates of Charles I
- Add. 21,417-26 Correspondence of Captain Adam Baynes
- Add. 21,427 Miscellaneous orders, accounts, petitions, and correspondence of Captain Adam Baynes
- Add. 29,319 Official Letters addressed to Colonel William Sydenham

- Add. 30,208 "An Alphabetical Account of the Land Revenues belonging to the Crown as the same appear by the Surveyor General's Office since the year MDCL"
- Add. 31,116 Diary of Proceedings in the House of Commons, from 8 October 1642 to 8 July 1647, by Lawrence Whitacre, MP
- Add. 44,937 "Proceedings of the howse [of commons] contra Granger", 1 April 1650, for forgery
- Egerton 2,542/518 "Considerations touching the sale of the Lands scould by the names of Kings, Queenes and Princes Lands"
- Stowe 184 Letters and warrants to the trustees for the sale of fee farm rents, 1649-1655

Cambridge University Library

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